Pre-season hooliganism bodes ill

BRITISH soccer began the run up to the season overhung with hooliganism. A North Sea ferry from Harwich to the Hook of Holland had to return to Harwich when fighting and brawling broke out among drunken soccer spectators going to the Continent to watch pre-season friendlies by Manchester United and West Ham United. There were more incidonts between police and the Manchester United fans after their team played a friendly against Ajax in Amsterdam. Three people were stabbed and several others injured and the lives of holidaymakers made a misery as the hooligans raced and fought about the boat.

The brawling has dashed hopes of an early return for English clubs to European club competitions, from which they were barred for three years following the tragedy in Brussels during the European Cup final between Liverpool and Juventus. Ted Croker, secretary of the Football Associatioin, said that he was bitterly disappointed and disgusted by the incident which set back the reputation of English clubs in Europe.

Worse, in a sense, was to follow on the pitch when the Scottish season opened at the weekend. Glasgow Rangers saw their new manager, Graeme Souness, sent off against Hibernian after aiming a kick against an Hibernian player, McCluskey, who was carried off with an injured knee. Nine other

By our own Reporter

players were booked when a brawl took place among most of the players. Rangers lost 2-1 to add misery to their day, especially after they had spent so much money in the pre-season building a new squad. Souness later apologised for his conduct but it will be difficult for him to recover credibility.

The Home Office minister, Mr Giles Shaw, rejected calls to introduce corporal punishment for soccer hooligans in response to the incidents.

Mr John Carlisle, the Conservative MP for Luton North and the chairman of the Tory backbench sports committee, said that the only way to deal with hooliganism was a "good and sound birching and a long stiff sentence in a miserable prison".

Echoed by other rightwing backbench Conservatives, including Mr Peter Bruinvels (Leicester East) and Mr Terry Dicks (Hayes and Harlington), Mr Carlisle said: "We have a lot to learn from the Middle East in this respect, and the Saudi Arabians in particular, where prisons are for punishment and not for rehabilitation. We need merciless, eye-for-an-eye punishment for retribution."

A spokesman for UEFA, the European football governing body, said that next month's meeting in Prague, might consider new sanctions on English clubs.

Cricket County Table

	P	W	L	D	Bt	Bl	Pts
Gloucestershire (3)	18	9	1	8	40	51	235
Essex (4)	16	7	4	5	37	51	200
Surrey (6)	17	6	6	5	36	54	185
Leicestershire (16)	17	5	4	8	41	51	172
Hampshire (2)	16	5	4	7	38	50	168
Yorkshire (11)	18	4	4	10	50	46	168
Nottingh'mshire (8)	16	4	2	10	44	53	161
Worcestershire (5)	17	4	5	8	42	50	156
Kent (9)	16	4	4	8	32	53	149
Northant'shire (10)	16	4	2	10	40	38	142
Derbyshire (13)	16	4	4	8	27	50	141
Lancashire (14)	17	3	3	11	35	40	123
Somerset (17)	16	3	2	11	41	32	121
Sussex (7)	17	3	7	7	30	40	118
Warwickshire (15)	17	2	3	12	38	43	113
Middlesex (1)	17	1	9	7	29	52	97
Glamorgan (12)	17	1	5	11	31	34	81

1985 positions in brackets.

Botham shows why he can't be ignored

IAN BOTHAM strode back on to cricket's centre stage last week after his two months' ban for smoking cannabis with two mighty flourishes of the bat that must have made the England team, floundering against New Zealand, ache for his presence. He could be back for the third and final Test and can hardly be excluded from the tour of Australia in the winter, for in his enforced absence no one else has made a durable stake for the England all-rounder role or for the middle order batting.

His return to first-class county championship cricket came for Somerset against Worcestershire and there was an air of inevitability that he would make a century. And so it came to pass — in only 64 minutes and off 65 balls, with seven sixes and nine fours. All the shots were there with beefy magnificence, especially the lofted straight drives. It wasn't the highest score in the match — Botham's teammate, Roebuck, hit 147 in the second innings, his highest ever score — and his bowling still has some way to go, but it was enough to satisfy the cricketing nation that he was back and winning, for Somerset took the match by five wickets.

Having announced that he was back he then fell victim of a stomach bug for the following match, but had recovered in time for Somerset's match at Northamptonshire in the Sunday League. The occasion was eventually washed out by rain without a result but not before the crowd at Wellingborough School had seen one of the greatest innings ever in limited-over cricket.

But for an interruption for rain, which cost him an over, he could well have surpassed the competition's record knock of 176 by Graham Gooch. As it was he hit 175 not out of Somerset's 272 for five, hitting a competition record 13 sixes on the way, as well as 12 fours. It was the highest innings by a Somerset player in limited-over cricket and was by common consent anything but a carefree Sunday slog. It was worked from humble beginnings against an enthusiastic attack with their tail up after dismissing Viv Richards cheaply.

Not until he was 60 did he launch Harper's off-spin over long-on for his first six, but thereafter he was murderous. He reached his 100 in 87 balls, the second 50 in 28 with only another 29 to the 150. One mighty six cleared a line of

Alan Dunn's DIARY

trees beyond the boundary, a road fringing the ground and a factory wall on the other side of the road.

The irony of the occasion was that the rains came and the match was declared a no result with both sides taking two points. Through the combination of bad weather and contrived finishes elsewhere this was enough to send Northamptonshire to the top of the league with 36 points, two better than Essex.

Somerset, by the way, have held an inquiry into an incident of racial abuse during the match against Worcestershire, when Viv Richards, the West Indian captain, strode into the crowd to identify a spectator making abusive comments. Somerset said that they would take a stronger line over evicting and barring racist agitators and drunks from matches and to advise players not to become involved because of the risk of personal injury.

If it was the week of the big comeback it also saw the rise of yet another of the season's golden oldies. This time it was Ken Higgs, the former England pace bowler who played with Lancashire and Leicestershire. Now aged 49 and a coach at Leicester, he was pressed into service against Yorkshire because of injuries in the rest of the squad. He came on when Yorkshire were 60 without loss and went on to take five for 22, the fiftieth time he has taken five wickets in an innings. Higgs began his career with Lancashire in 1958 and played for England 15 times.

England would have loved someone with his penetrative bowling powers during their second Test against New Zealand at Trent Bridge, Nottingham. Instead it was a "local" boy, Richard Hadlee, who won all the applause . . . only he plays for New Zealand as well as Nottinghamshire. He had a brilliant all-rounder role throughout a match bothered by bad light and rain.

He began with yet another superb demonstration of the arts of pace bowling from that smooth and economical run-up. By the close on the first day he had taken six wickets for 74 runs and England were 240 for nine. It was the 27th time he had taken five or more in Tests, overhauling Botham's record, while when he took Emburey's wicket it was his 326th in Tests, bypassing Bob Willis to become the third in order behind Dennis Lillee, 355, and Botham 354.

There were mixed emotions among the Nottingham folk watching. They delighted that their adopted son was playing so well, but deplored its happening against England, whose batsmen were made to look frail once more. Only Gower, 71, and Athey, 55, made much of a fist of it.

On the second day Hadlee made his mark with the bat, coming to the rescue when New Zealand were wobbling at 144 for five. Gladstone Small, the new England pace bowler, had taken two wickets, and New Zealand generally looked uninspiring until Hadlee came to the wicket. Fifty runs followed in 90 minutes and he and Gray looked well established when play ended at 211 for five. But it was Gray who was to be the stubborn anchorman on the third day after Hadlee went for 68. He stayed around while Bracewell hit only his third first class century, 110, and New Zealand amassed 413 all out. To add to Bracewell's joy he then had Gooch caught by Coney cheaply in the closing moments of the day to leave England struggling on 31 for one.

Only 75 minutes play was possible on a rain-affected fourth day, but England went on to lose Moxon and Athey to finish at 64 for three with a draw now seeming inevitable.

Lendl takes his revenge

Martin James reports:

Ivan Lendl extended his unbeaten record on hard courts to 18 on Sunday when he defeated Boris Becker 6-4, 7-6 in the final of the Volvo International at Stratton Mountain in Vermont.

The World Champion had struggled to find his form all week, but against Becker he came up with just what was needed to quell the West German youngster's firepower and take a measure of revenge for his Wimbledon final defeat.

However, the main talking point among the 11,000 crowd was still the semi-final confrontation between Becker and McEnroe.

McEnroe, playing superbly for a player in his first week back on the circuit, unexpectedly held four match points, only to fall 3-6, 7-5, 7-6.

At one stage McEnroe was heard to shout at Becker: "Someone should teach you a lesson in respect." Apparently the American was unhappy with the way his opponent shows emotion when hitting a spectacular winner.

GOLF: David Davies reports from Toledo, Ohio

Brilliant Tway

BOB TWAY, with a burst of barely credible brilliance, won the US PGA Championship at Inverness, Toledo, on Monday. By holing a bunker shot for a birdie at the last he snatched a title, his first major, that for 67 holes had seemed destined for Greg Norman.

Tway, who was constantly in trouble on the final two holes, produced two magical shots to recover, finishing with an eight-under-par total of 276, two ahead of Norman who finished with a five-over-par 76.

The way Tway played the 18th seemed designed to ensure that the championship went to Norman. He hit a dreadful tee-shot which buried itself in deep rough on the right. A watching Jack Niklaus observed that Tway would find it almost impossible to hit the green from where he was, and eventually the American did well to get his ball into a bunker 10 yards short of the pin. With Norman in a good position on the fairway it seemed likely that the Australian, who had lost a four-stroke lead during the course of the round, would in fact win his second major title inside a month. Even when his second hit the green and spun back off he was still favourite, because Tway had to play a shot which demanded extraordinary delicacy.

But from the moment he hit it the shot was obviously a good one, and when it trickled into the hole bedlam broke out.

In fact, Tway had brought off another near miracle shot, also at the 17th. Again he had pushed the ball this time to the right of the green, and it was impossible to see his ball even from a yard away. The odds were heavily on Tway either leaving the ball in the rough or sculling it across the green. Instead he managed to get it out to two feet to save his par.

Norman, though, really could only blame himself for being in a position to lose the championship. He had started four ahead of Tway and, as he said later, it came down to a form of match play between them.

MOTOR RACING: Maurice Hamilton in Budapest on the new Hungarian Grand Prix

Piquet's slick charge threatens Mansell

AN estimated 200,000 spectators at the Hungaroring on Sunday witnessed Hungary's historic first world championship grand prix, and they will remember it as Nelson Piquet's race.

However, as the teams head across the border into Austria for the 12th round of the series this Sunday, the more far-reaching consequence of the second victory in succession for the Williams driver is that he moves into third place in the championship and now has his team mate Nigel Mansell in his sights as the season reaches three-quarters distance.

Mansell, never in contention on Sunday because of tyre problems, finished third, one lap behind a race-long battle between Piquet and Ayrton Senna's Lotus-Renault.

Senna started from pole position and led the first 11 laps before Piquet moved ahead. The low average speed of the new circuit 12 miles north-east of Budapest meant that, unlike most races this year, fuel consumption would not be a deciding factor, and Piquet's Honda engine thus did not have its usual edge. But the Brazilian more than made up for it with consistent, aggressive driving.

Tyre wear was less than expected in a race lasting two hours and run in temperatures exceeding 90 deg F. Piquet, the first of the leaders to stop, came in just under before half distance, Senna following seven laps later. When Senna rejoined, he found himself 10 seconds ahead of the Williams, but Piquet remorselessly closed the gap.

Piquet's first attempt to overtake on the inside of the approach to the corner after the pits ended when he locked his rear brakes and ran wide.

It took him two laps to recover the lost ground, and for his second attempt he ran outside the Lotus, Senna giving his fellow countryman the minimum amount of room to carry out a risky manoeuvre. Piquet almost came to grief as he turned into the long right-hand corner but he controlled his car brilliantly to take the lead.

During the remaining 19 laps Senna kept Piquet under pressure as they drove as hard as they could without sacrificing their tyres.

By finishing second, Senna moves back into second place in the championship table, seven points behind Mansell and one ahead of Piquet.

Mansell, although running the same tyres as Piquet, could find insufficient grip on the smooth track surface, a problem which two stops for tyres did not cure. His consolation was that Alain Prost, who had been second in the championship, retired his McLaren after a long pit-stop to cure electrical trouble and then a collision with Rene Arnoux's Ligier.

Mansell led home a strong British contingent among the ten finishers. Johnny Dumfries earned his first championship points after an impressive and competitive run in his Lotus into fifth place, half a minute ahead of Martin Brundle whose Tyrrell was without fourth gear for the last 30 laps.

Derek Warwick had been running ahead of Brundle when he was hit from behind by the Ferrari of Michele Alboreto, both drivers retiring as a result.

Jonathan Palmer might have taken the final scoring place, but bringing his Zakspeed home after a long delay to bleed overheating brakes was an achievement almost as worthy as the successful running of the first grand prix in an Eastern bloc country.

World Championship Standings: 1, Mansell, 55pts; 2, Senna, 48; 3, Piquet, 47; 4, Prost (Fr), 44; 5, Rosberg (Fin), 19; 6 equal, Laffite (Fr) and Arnoux (Fr), 14; 11, Brundle, 5; 12, Dumfries, 2.

• Eddie Lawson won the Swedish Grand Prix and his second world championship in convincing style on his Team Agostini Yamaha at Anderstorp. Although the Australian Wayne Gardner pushed the Californian as hard as he could on his Honda the Yamaha was clearly too fast.

Mike Baldwin was third on his Team Roberts Yamaha after a race-long battle with Lawson's team-mate Rob McElnea.

© Guardian Publications Ltd. 1986. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, for and on behalf of The Guardian and Manchester Evening News P.L.C., 164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RR.

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 8 Week ending August 24, 1986

Russia extends test freeze

Mr Gorbachev is extending the Soviet Union's year-old moratorium on nuclear testing till the end of 1986. In a television broadcast the Soviet leader challenged President Reagan, now enjoying a six-week holiday on his California ranch, to sign a treaty banning all nuclear testing if and when they meet later this year. The State Department and White House spokesmen immediately rejected any comparable American moratorium, describing Mr Gorbachev's offer as "propaganda."





Time to respond positively to Gorbachev

IF there has been an argument in the Kremlin about whether to continue the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, then it has been won for the time being by those who remember the truism that the purpose of a deterrent is to deter. It is a truism from which the United States has gone off on its own Star Wars tangent, and one which the British government consistently overlooks in its pursuit of the Trident programme.

Before Mr Gorbachev announced his moratorium a year ago, with subsequent extensions even though there was no reciprocity from the United States, he did so after a brisk series of tests had satisfied the military that their weaponry was in working order. One purpose in testing is to take a sample from the stockpile to ensure that it has not for some reason degraded. But suppose it has? How is the other side to know? Each superpower has to assume that enough of its adversary's arsenal is operational to deter it from making a first strike. That there may be an element of uncertainty in the case of a few missiles makes no difference to a calculation of the risk.

Mr Gorbachev can thus afford to pile on to the United States (and Britain and France) the odium which is increasingly attached to nuclear testing. The Congress is more aware than the White House of the damage which testing — and not only testing, but the threat to introduce a new generation of chemical weapons and the fixation with Star Wars — does to the US bargaining position. Last week the House of Representatives voted by 255 to 152 to restrict all these favoured Presidential and Pentagon projects in what the arms control lobby in the House described as the most significant breakthrough in 12 years. Mr Reagan sees it otherwise. At the weekend he accused the House of giving Moscow what it had failed to pay for at Geneva. Since the House vote was not binding he can expect a different language to emerge from a joint Senate-House conference on the arms budget next month. But the damage has already been done. On the matters on its agenda last week the House agreed with Gorbachev and not with Reagan.

One reason for this is that random sample testing is no longer the main reason for the underground explosions in Nevada. If it

Report, page 6

were, the US could rely on the same principle of deterrence (ie, the principle of uncertainty) which Gorbachev must have deployed against the importunings of his military. The Star Wars programme itself has a nuclear component in that the particle-beam weapons are nuclear-powered. In addition the United States is due to upgrade, by 1989, the C-4 Trident missile with the longer-range and more advanced D-5, for which a new warhead will be needed.

It would be rash to put words into Mr Gorbachev's mouth or thoughts into his head. But whereas his predecessors (and he himself, more sotto voce) have insisted that the Soviet Union will never permit American superiority but will always maintain parity, Gorbachev must know that neither side can vanquish the other, however much it adds to the stockpile. Uncertainty about the scale on which a nuclear state could respond to attack is the main ingredient of deterrence and it is that which makes the British Trident programme so extravagantly superfluous. The existing Polaris fleet can in theory attack 64 targets simultaneously, with a high probability of penetration resulting from the Chevaline refinements built in. If one-tenth of the missiles got through, the major Soviet cities would be devastated. What need is there of deterrence beyond that threat of inconceivable destruction? And so Gorbachev must reason about the 3,000-odd launchers in his possession.

To say that Gorbachev has scored a propaganda victory is to belittle the thought that has gone into the test moratorium. And indeed into the whole technological predicament. Challenger and Chernobyl, he said on Monday, show we have not yet passed the technological test. Gorbachev is the first leader on either side to recognise the fatuity of trying to add to a virtually infinite capacity for destruction. He is making no sacrifice. If he were he would soon be out of office. He is answering the American call for "deeds, not words" in an effective manner, and is entitled to ask the Americans — as the House of Representatives has recognised — to respond likewise. The time may come when he is overborne by his own military lobby, but the logic of his present position will still remain intact.

Only making things worse

THOSE who predicted trouble on the 39th anniversary of Pakistan's independence have been proved right. The arrest in Karachi under a 30-day detention order of Benazir Bhutto for defying a ban on political meetings became tediously predictable as soon as the government restricted her to the city, banned rallies and rounded up hundreds of her supporters earlier in the week in an attempt to defuse rising tension. In the light of these preparatory moves by the authorities there need be no speculation about an individual police commander acting in an excess of zeal while General Zia ul-Haq was away on a pilgrimage to Mecca. A confrontation became only a matter of time, and not much of it, after the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, the uneasy opposition alliance, got its act together at the beginning of the month.

The MRD delivered an ultimatum to General Zia to announce a democratic election by September 20 and to hold it by the end of the year. The "or else" — that he would have to contend with a "peaceful democratic movement" — sounds weak but was the best that such an organisation could do. The significance of the demand lay in the fact that it was endorsed by the largest and most important component of the MRD, the Pakistan People's Party led by Miss Bhutto. She was not at the meeting which led to it, adding to the suspicion of other MRD elements that she was not committed to the alliance, and she had been pushing for an autumn election ever since her return to the country in April. But she accepted the later deadline by telephone and the Movement became at a stroke something that had to be taken more seriously than hitherto. Before the crucial MRD meeting in Lahore, which was also a scene of unrest last week, the PPP had stood alone in its call for early elections.

With the entire political spectrum from religious conservatives to leftist revolutionaries united behind the campaign for an election within five months, the generals and the fundamentalist mullahs who support Zia are faced with a sharper dilemma than at any time since the fall of Miss Bhutto's father nine years ago. But the nature of the dilemma is essentially the same as it has been throughout Pakistan's history: how viability as a modern state is to be reconciled with the ideal which led to its foundation as a secular Muslim democracy. There is also a dilemma for Washington as

Continued on page 10

Sir Robert Armstrong, head of the civil service.

Getting at the truth

The British Government is trying to prevent publication of a book about the secret service, MI5. In an attempt to prevent Sir Robert Armstrong (left), head of the civil service, having to answer awkward questions on oath in a New South Wales court, the Government last week admitted for court purposes that the allegations contained in it were true, including the claim that the late Sir Roger Hollis (right), head of MI5, had been a Soviet spy. But law officers were at pains to make it clear that the Government did not admit the truth of the allegations except for Court purposes. (Full report, page 4).



The late Sir Roger Hollis.

INSIDE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Recipe for SA disaster

Joe Slovo's strategy for Socialist change in South Africa (August 17) is a recipe for disaster for the South African proletariat.

Slovo sees a natural link between national liberation and social emancipation, but nevertheless draws a distinction between the two. The significance of this becomes clearer when he suggests that with the end of apartheid: a mixed economy, including non-monopoly private enterprise will prevail. From thence, apparently, will we attain a state of affairs propitious to socialism. Slovo, then, advocates a "stages" approach to the question of socialism in South Africa.

To arrive at such a conclusion necessitates the existence of at least a progressive wing of the bourgeoisie. But the search for a progressive bourgeois in South Africa is the utmost folly as the black South African masses realised long ago.

Lenin, whom Slovo is fond of quoting, never tired of flaying the Mensheviks for their class collaborationist approach and was consistent in opposing a united democratic front, with the total exclusion of all sections of the bourgeoisie, to the nefarious ideas of "popular frontism". What would he think of Slovo's and the South African Communist Party's support for a "popular front" in South Africa today?

If the black workers' movement in South Africa is held back by attempts to limit itself to "a national democratic" stage, and if the expropriation of the bourgeoisie is not completed, then the stage will be set for a bloody counter-revolution. In the event of this, the South African Communist Party must bear full responsibility.

Mark Underwood,
Felcott Road,
Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.

"The definition of independence is that countries be able to choose forms of government which their neighbours object to . . . Few Congressmen have dared to take a stand on the basic issue of whether the United States has the right to interfere in a far away country's internal affairs."

You are talking about Nicaragua (Leader, July 6) but doesn't this also apply to South Africa?

Wm S. Chichester,
Tucson,
AZ 85704.

Danger on the move

Two years ago in the wake of the Mont Louis disaster Sealink, then owned by British Rail, banned the transport of uranium hexafluoride. One might assume that the transport of this nuclear material by cross Channel ferries had ceased. Unfortunately this is not the case. The Dieppe-Newhaven route is now French operated and uranium hexafluoride is once more being carried.

Three Tuesdays out of five the Gonderand transport firm bring shipments of uranium hexafluoride from the French uranium enrichment plant at Pierrelatte in the Rhone valley which are delivered to British Nuclear Fuels works at Springfields, near Preston.

The lorry and its nuclear cargo have been seen to travel upon either the passenger ferry Chantilly or the freight-only Marie Evangeline.

Although Dieppe-Newhaven ferries are now French-operated, passengers travelling on them will have booked their tickets in the UK via Sealink who advertise the service in their brochures and timetables.

Two years ago Sealink gave assurances that they would not transport nuclear cargoes. Will they now confirm those assurances and that they will now be extending them to cover services where they are acting as agents?

Gregory Taylor,
Green Party Council,
Saltdean, Brighton.

Big sound that drowns out a carping critic

I write in protest at the snobbish spitefulness with which your reviewer Waldemar Januszczak attempted to rubbish the vocal art of Luciano Pavarotti (Big man pulls out all the stops, August 17).

Your reviewer spends time and venom on the nature and quality of the audience, telling superior Guardian readers that it was composed of insurance salesmen and their wives.

It would have been so useful if you had sent a reviewer who actually knew something about singing. The fact is that Luciano Pavarotti has a stupendous physical gift — a voice of great strength, wide variety of colour and considerable sweetness of tone, with a true ringing quality in the higher registers: it has been combined with considerable musical intelligence and experience which enables him to use his voice in the service of a huge area in the Italian repertory.

For various political and cultural reasons the British have for generations been pitifully ignorant of the *bel canto* repertory, fed as they have been on a relentless diet of Mozart, Wagner and Richard Strauss. Glyndebourne and the Garden have themselves played a considerable part in this sad state of affairs.

Sorry sight it is to see the fuss made over the meritricious jazzerie of *Porgy and Bess* while *William Tell* and other masterpieces of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini remain unknown to British audiences.

Your reviewer not only tastelessly savaged a great talent, he furthered the cause of British smugness and philistinism.

(Dr) Robert Giddings,
Parkstone, Poole,
Dorset.

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

August 24, 1986 Vol. 135 No. 8

Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire, SK8 1DD, England.

Subscription enquiries to the Circulation Manager, The Guardian Weekly, 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, England.

Advertisement enquiries to the Advertisement Manager, The Guardian Weekly, 119 Farringdon Road, London, England.

Testing time for the West, trying time for Moscow

Your Leader (August 17) was right to hold that the East-West arms talks really matter. But the article was gratuitously dismissive of the nuclear test explosions issue.

Though the discussions "have a potentially unlimited agenda, they will need to cut it down to what is immediately practicable (thereby probably excluding underground tests, on which the US is adamant)," the editorial says.

Yet only a few days earlier the House of Representatives voted by almost two to one for a 12-month moratorium on the underground explosions. It seems to many of us that a comprehensive test ban is the most definite and the least complicated of all the issues coming before the negotiators.

The previous argument that such tests could not be verified has been completely disposed of, as the American scientists now in Soviet Russia are showing. If the Western tests continue it is likely that the East will resume theirs. However, Mr Gorbachev has said he will consider extending their moratorium if Washington and London behave.

The people of the three nations involved, America, Britain and Russia, have overwhelmingly indicated their wish for agreement on this issue. Only the political will at the top is missing.

Frank Allaun,
Manchester.

Your Leader on the Moscow arms control talks makes a number of fair points, but does not underline the essential one: The path President Reagan appears to be set on — to judge by the leaks of his latest letter to Mikhail Gorbachev — cannot lead to a new summit.

To put it bluntly, suggestions that the President has made a great compromise on disarmament are sheer lies. Rather, it is still pursuing the same old goal of securing strategic superiority.

For example, if Washington really wants strategic stability, it would have to do far more to stop the arms race spreading into space. Its readiness to observe the ABM treaty for only another seven years only covers the time it needs anyway to switch over from research to the deployment of attack space systems.

A serious approach to cutting offensive weaponry means banning all attack space weapons and, as a transitional stage, strictly abiding by the ABM treaty for at least another 15 to 20 years.

Furthermore, the US President is ignoring all demands to halt nuclear testing and join the unilateral Soviet moratorium. This blocks another route to slowing down the arms race and moving towards nuclear disarmament.

All this makes claims that the "ball is now in Moscow's court" ridiculous, the "ball" — humanity's future — remains were it was, awaiting the serious consideration of the US President.

Spartak Beglov,
Novosti Press Agency,
4 Zubovsky Boulevard,
Moscow.

Liverpool libelled

According to all other media reports the violence on the Harwich-Hook of Holland ferry occurred when so-called supporters of Manchester United and West Ham United clashed, yet your Leader (August 17) clearly implies that supporters of Liverpool and Everton were involved. Is it the intention of the Guardian to implicate Merseyside whenever and wherever football violence occurs?

F. Sephton,
Chairman, Liverpool FC
Supporters Club,
(London Branch),
London NW1.

The soldiers' crime

You report (August 10) that 111 Gurkhas, all members of the 7th Duke of Edinburgh Rifles were dismissed from the British Army and sent back to Nepal. For what crime? For failing to cooperate with their CO in refusing to name guilty colleagues. But since when has it become a crime under British law not to cooperate with the prosecution?

No, this was not the reason, the soldiers' crime was of a far more serious nature. They had bonded together, when their loyalty should have been to the officers, the cornerstone of imperialism.

Yet by contrast, the second cornerstone of imperialism is the loyalty of the officer corps to each other. The term "brother officer" is indoctrinated into every officer, both during his training and in mess life, a training in loyalty to the officer corps so thorough and yet so subtle that the officer never forgets.

I hope the members of the Army Board, whom I understand will consider the appeal by some of the Gurkhas, will have some sympathy for these "brother soldiers" of the Gurkha Regiment whose only crime seems to have been imitating the code of conduct of the officer class.

James Wood,
Bracknell, Berks.

Attacking racism in all its forms

As an admirer of your reporter Hugo Young, and no admirer of Mrs Thatcher, I must none the less take issue with Mr Young's suggestion (July 20) that it is patronising of Mrs Thatcher to annoy police states by referring to their censorship, detention without trial, and racism.

Mrs Thatcher's strictures against some Commonwealth (and other) countries make good sense. Malaysia's laws are blatantly racist. Bangladesh suffers an open military dictatorship. In Pakistan — like South Africa a former Commonwealth member — it is a *capital crime* to offend the mullahs.

Not that any of this excuses Mrs Thatcher's de facto support for the Pretoria regime. South Africa is a racist police state and for various reasons there is a large measure of agreement to put the boot into it. Its supporters and opponents are being counted.

For the world, the defeat of tyranny in South Africa would serve as a spur for similar pressure on other racist and/or police states (including those to which Mrs Thatcher was obviously referring).

And for South Africa itself the defeat of the Boer tribal dictatorship will be only the beginning of the long struggle to break up tribalism in the region and replace it with respect for individual rights.

Dion E. Giles,
Cottesloe,
Western Australia.

Hugo Young's "interview" with Margaret Thatcher comes over as a disappointing example of investigative journalism. The strength of an interview lies in the ability of the questioner to draw something of interest and perhaps even controversy out of his quarry. This repartee (be it live or in print) puts both parties under the pressure to react to one another and produce something worth our attention. It shows relatively little skill to arrange the matter of an interview after the event to suit one's own purposes.

Through his knowing asides and frequent alternation between direct and indirect speech Mr Young has used this opportunity simply to illustrate his own subjective anti-Thatcher feelings. We read some of Mrs Thatcher's opinions and learn something more about her personality, but only on his terms.

Such interjections as "Mrs Thatcher deployed the quiet voice of incredulous affront" or "The voice was shaking now at this spectacle of a continent which displayed such inexplicable moral inconsistencies" or "(Pause)" or worse still (on tax cuts) "I have not put any of that on paper because it sounded like the record you've heard a hundred times before" satisfy only Mr Young's desire to add a little cheap theatre as well as showing more than a little arrogance on his part.

Perhaps Mr Young could take note of the weekly interview in Der Spiegel or Le Monde where the text is printed in its entirety. Let Mrs Thatcher's words stand by themselves. They are damning enough. We would then be left to draw our own conclusions. We shouldn't need a running commentary.

G. Johns,
Holbeinweg 31
7 Stuttgart 1.

Freedom of information act wanted

By David Rose

TWO-THIRDS of voters favour a Freedom of Information Act, according to an opinion poll released on Monday, the 75th anniversary of the passage of the "catch all" section two of the Official Secrets Act.

The poll, carried out by MORI for the Campaign for the Freedom of Information, sampled 1,909 voters in 172 constituencies between July 4 and 8. It found that 65 per cent supported the introduction of an information bill, subject to adequate safeguards for national security, crime and personal privacy. Twenty-three per cent were opposed and 11 per cent expressed no opinion.

Only 25 per cent of Conservative voters opposed the proposal, with 69 per cent in favour, and higher proportional support across party lines among men and young people.

At a press conference called to launch the poll Mr Des Wilson, the campaign chairman, said that the poll demonstrated an overwhelming consensus against section two, which had been repeatedly shown to be unworkable.

He cited the cases of the former civil servants Mr Clive Ponting and Ms Sarah Tisdall, both of whom were present. The Government had admitted that neither had leaked information damaging to national security, and it could be surmised that their prosecutions in 1984 had been undertaken only for reasons of embarrassment: but this in turn had caused further political discomfiture.

The current case of Mr Peter Wright whose allegations concerning illegal activity by MI5 were admitted to be true in an Australian court last week — but which the Guardian has been prevented from repeating — were only the latest example of the many absurdities and evils of official secrecy, Mr Wilson said. People could now read Mr Wright's disclosures anywhere in the world but Britain.

(Report, page 4.)

Villagers bar test drillers

HUNDREDS of families from three villages in different counties on Monday prevented contractors from starting test drilling for the dumping of nuclear waste by the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive, Nirex.

Nirex is expected to seek an injunction to gain access to the sites at Killingholme on Humberside, Elstow in Bedfordshire, and Fulbeck in Lincolnshire. Drilling is planned to begin at a fourth site, at Bradwell in Essex, in two weeks' time.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates August 18	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.3884-2.3908	2.3982-2.4005
Austria	21.67-21.70	21.70-21.74
Belgium	63.77-66.31	63.70-63.90
Canada	2.0791-2.0820	2.0737-2.0773
Denmark	11.59-11.60	11.56-11.58
France	10.04-10.05	10.01-10.02
Germany	3.08-3.09	3.07-3.08
Hong Kong	11.65-11.68	11.63-11.65
Ireland	1.1125-1.1135	1.1099-1.1109
Italy	2,120-2,124	2,117-2,121
Japan	229.77-230.16	229.00-230.00
Netherlands	3.47-3.48	3.46-3.47
Norway	10.94-10.95	10.96-10.98
Portugal	216.34-217.98	217.38-219.02
Spain	199.55-199.84	199.84-200.20
Sweden	10.33-10.35	10.34-10.35
Switzerland	2.493-2.499	2.48-2.49
USA	1.4920-1.4930	1.4946-1.4950
ECU	1.4487-1.4505	1.4599-1.4617

FT 30 Share Index 1273·6 Gold $377·75

Up and up go the dole queues

The week in Britain by James Lewis

IN the 1983 general election campaign the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, persuaded the electorate that she needed another term in office to beat inflation and bring down unemployment by creating "real" jobs. Inflation — down last month to 2·4 per cent, the lowest since 1967 — is all but beaten, but unemployment jumped by another 50,000 to reach a record July figure of 3·2 million.

After taking into account the 125,000 jobless school-leavers who are not entitled to claim benefit, and another 50,000 excluded by various statistical changes, the total unemployed is 95,000 greater than it was a year ago, after what is supposed to have been a period of economic growth. Even Ministers no longer hold out any prospect of improvement. The Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson, actually expects unemployment to go on rising because of what he euphemistically calls "the pause".

While Mr Lawson implies that the "pause" is the prelude to resumed economic growth, the City talks of deflation and an impending recession. Tory Party managers decided that the answer was to give the Prime Minister a "softer image", so Mrs Thatcher was pictured walking a dog along a holiday beach in Cornwall, where the Government last month invested £15 million — apparently with the encouragement of Prince Charles — to save what remains of the tin-mining industry.

While Government action has undoubtedly reduced the high rate of inflation which the Conservatives inherited in 1979, the most recent falls have been to factors — such as seasonal drops in food prices and lower petrol prices — for which Ministers can claim no credit. Earnings, however, continue to rise at an underlying 7·5 per cent, which suggests that next year's inflation rate will be at least 3·5 per cent.

Dissatisfaction over Mrs Thatcher's economic policies does not guarantee an election victory for Labour, which is engaged, as ever, in fratricidal conflict. At next month's Trades Union Congress, and at the Labour Party conference which follows it, the party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, is likely to be at odds with, and could be defeated by, some of the big unions over the crucial issue of strike ballots.

Mr Kinnock wants a future Labour government to uphold the legal right of workers to have secret ballots before they can be called out on strike by their unions. This right, conferred by the hated "Tebbit law" of 1984, has undoubtedly curbed the power of union leaders and reduced the number of strikes, but some of the big left-dominated unions are mobilising to sweep away what they see as "anti-union" law and could well deny Mr Kinnock his wish to approach an election year with peaceful and uncontroversial conferences to demonstrate the closeness of Labour's partnership with the unions.

For the first time, Labour is making a determined pitch for the "Green" vote — about three million strong — with an environmental programme to encourage organic farming (which would employ a larger rural workforce) and to squeeze the incomes of rich farmers by transferring resources from price support to protecting the environment and helping poorer farmers. At the moment, however, Labour does not hold a single rural parliamentary seat in England, and would need a sizeable electoral swing in its favour to win one because most of the politically active Greens support the Ecology Party or the Liberal/SDP Alliance.

Post-mortem examinations of three former workers at the Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plans in Cumbria disclosed concentrations of plutonium which were hundreds — and, in once case, thousands — of times higher than in the general population. Research by the National Radiological Protection Board found that even Cumbrians who had never worked in the nuclear industry had plutonium levels ranging from 50 to 250 per cent above the average elsewhere in

British Nuclear Fuels, Limited, the state-owned company which runs Sellafield, said the levels found were "still very small indeed" and did not indicate that anybody's health would suffer in consequence.

British Airways, which is buying a new fleet of jumbo jets from Boeing, decided to power them with Rolls-Royce engines rather than engines offered by America's General Electric and Pratt and Whitney. The order, worth £600 million, will secure the future of the Rolls-Royce workforce until the end of the decade. The significance of the purchase may well lie in the fact that BA and Rolls, both state-owned, are due to be privatised next year. For the privatisation to succeed, Rolls needs a healthy order book and BA needs to be free of political controversy.

The police and the army faced a series of clashes with Catholic and Protestant youths when 20,000 Loyalists marched through Londonderry in the annual Apprentice Boys' parade. A public house and a row of shops were wrecked, a number of people were injured, and police had to resort once again to the use of plastic bullets. While the two sides were skirmishing in Derry, the IRA demolished a police station in County Tyrone by ramming it with a road-digger packed with 300 pounds of explosives. Six people were injured.

There were more clashes in Dundalk, in the Irish Republic, when Mr Peter Robinson, an Ulster MP, appeared in court there to answer charges arising from a Loyalist incursion into the republic the previous week. A group of about fifty Loyalist, who had accompanied Mr Robinson to the hearing, was attacked with bottles, stones and petrol bombs when they attempted to hold a religious service in the main street of the town.

The sea eagles breed again

By Gareth Parry

A PAIR of white-tailed sea eagles which produced a chick for the first time last year, have bred two more, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds said last week.

The birds, which first attempted to breed in 1983, have been guarded round-the-clock by RSPB wardens at a secret site in the west of Scotland.

Sheep farmers suspecting the sea eagle of killing lambs, used to shoot, trap and poison the birds, but contemporary studies indicate that the sea eagle, like its cousin the golden eagle, only rarely attacks sheep.

It can achieve an eight-foot wing span and hunts small to medium-size animals, mostly birds and fish, although it also eats carrion.

The sea eagle has been reintroduced to Scotland by the Nature Conservancy Council. The project began in 1975, and over a 10-year period the RAF flew 82 eagles from Norway to Scotland, where they were released into the wild on the island of Rhum.

'Truth' and consequences about MI5

By Richard V. Hall in Sydney and John Carvel in London

THE British Government, in its efforts to prevent the publication in Australia of the memoirs of a former MI5 officer, admitted last week that the serious allegations of criminality he makes against the security service are true.

The New South Wales Supreme Court heard that, "for the purpose of these proceedings and not otherwise," the British Government accepted that claims by Mr Peter Wright in a book that Heinemann Australia is seeking to publish, and claims by another former MI5 officer, Ms Cathy Massiter, on a television programme shown in Australia, were accurate. These include the claim that the late Sir Roger Hollis, former head of MI5, was a Soviet spy.

However, the British Government's law officers in London insisted later that "except for the limited procedural purposes of this case, the Government does not admit the truth of any of the allegations in Mr Wright's book relating to the activities or personnel of the security services. In particular, the Government's position in relation to the late Sir Roger Hollis remains as stated by the Prime Minister in her statement in the House of Commons on March 26,1981." Mrs Thatcher then told MPs that an inquiry had concluded that Sir Roger had not been an agent of the Russian intelligence service, although this was impossible to prove.

The extraordinary concession made at a pre-trial hearing in Sydney about whether the British Government should answer certain interrogatories (147 written questions from the defendants) means that when the full trial takes place in November the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Robert Armstrong, chief witness for the Government, will seek to establish that in the public interest the book should not be published, even though all its contents can be assumed by the Court to be true.

Mr Malcolm Turnbull, who represented Heinemann Australia at the hearing, said: "This is nothing more than a cynical exercise in manipulation. Sir Robert apparently believes that even though MI5 does leak, and even though MI5 officers do commit crimes, the public should be told the contrary and the courts support him in his deceitful work.

"Notwithstanding the British Government's claims that MI5 defends the free world, this philosophy would be more at home in the committee rooms of an Eastern European Communist state. If the emperor has no clothes, the public have a right to know."

He added after the hearing: "Now they're saying, 'We admit he's got no clothes, but you're not entitled to say so'."

The judge, Mr Justice Powell, a former member of the Australian security service, awarded the costs arising from the interrogatories against the British Government. At the previous day's hearing the Judge had intervened to suggest "with great respect" that the major point in the British Government's case "seems to be so unreal". To suggest that Moscow Centre would be helped by knowing that MI5 and MI6 had relations with the CIA and that there had been trouble with J. Edgar Hoover was utterly unreal. Earlier, the Judge said that it was known that the British security services had leaked like a sieve for years.

The questions put to the British Government were specifically about allegations contained in Mr Wright's book. Once the court insisted that they be answered the Government was in the position of knowing that Sir Robert Armstrong and Mr Wright would be questioned in detail and under oath about claims that MI5 took part in criminal acts.

By admitting, in the context of this action, that everything Mr Wright says is true, this embarrassing situation will be avoided. But it does throw doubt over the likely success of the attempt to stop publication.

Mr Theo Simos, for the British Government, had argued in Sydney: "The relevant public interest which we seek to protect is the Australian public interest, and it is that it must be ensured that MI5 is leakproof. The detriment flows from the result of showing that MI5 is not leakproof.

"Whether MI5 is leakproof or not is independent of the character of the leak. If friendly security services see MI5 as not leakproof they will refuse to exchange confidential information as they will know that MI5 cannot maintain its confidentiality."

The Government has also made strenuous efforts to prevent any mention of Mr Wright's allegations. It won an injunction against the daily Guardian and the Observer preventing either paper from stating the Wright allegations, even if they had been published before. Only after a Court challenge by the newspapers were they given permission to report proceedings in the open court in Australia.

The Court of Appeal has upheld the injunction, permitting only reporting of such Australian court proceedings, anything said in the Houses of Parliament, and quotation from one book about the security service which attributes some information to Mr Wright.

MP gives details of charges

By Alan Travis

ON July 21 a Labour MP claimed that the Prime Minister and the Government believed it was "right to break the law" and were involved in a "cover-up" over the activities of MI5.

Mr Dale Campbell-Savours (Labour, Workington) outlined in the Commons some of the allegations that the Guardian and Observer have been restrained from publishing by a High Court injunction. He based his allegations on the memoirs of Mr Peter Wright, a former MI5 agent, which were broadcast in June on two Australian radio stations.

Under the protection of parliamentary privilege, Mr Campbell-Savours listed detailed allegations made by the former officer in the book whose publication the Government is seeking to ban.

These accuse MI5 officers of attempting to bug the West German and French embassies in London; placing microphones behind cyphering machines in the Greek and Indonesian embassies; bugging diplomatic conferences at Lancaster House, including the Zimbabwe independence negotiations in 1979; entering Russian consulates abroad; plotting against Harold Wilson during his 1974-76 premiership and diverting resources to investigate leftwing groups in Britain instead of setting its own house in order.

Mr Campbell-Savours said that Mr Wright is also believed to have alleged details of a plot to assassinate President Nasser during the Suez crisis. He also alleges that MI5 was involved in testing poison on sheep; switching numberplates on vehicles in this country; bugging Nikita Khrushchev's suite at Claridge's Hotel during his 1950s visit and opening of diplomatic bags.

"That is law-breaking in Britain. We now see our Government engaged in a cover-up. The Prime Minister does not believe in policies of law and order. She believes it is right for the state to break the law," said Mr Campbell-Savours.

Political embarrassment at the heart of Whitehall fears

By Richard Norton-Taylor

GOVERNMENT Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) cooperated with the US National Security Agency, its partner in signals intelligence, in illegal eavsdropping on the communication of civil rights and anti Vietnam war activists.

The project, code-named Minaret, involved the use of two listening posts, one at Menwith Hill, near Harrogate in Yorkshire — now under direct NSA control — and the other at Morwenstow, Cornwall, part of GCHQ's network. Under the scheme, US domestic communications intercepted by these stations were relayed to Fort Meade, the NSA headquarters in Maryland.

The idea, Mr Nigel West says in a book on GCHQ just published, was to avoid breaking the US Federal Communications Act by using stations based in Britain to pick up American domestic traffic. The project was later abandoned in the wake of the Watergate investigations and inquiries by Congress into illegal intelligence operations.

Minaret was an extension of an earlier operation, codenamed Shamrock, whereby the NSA secretly obtained copies of overseas communications. Though this was also in breach of US law, American intelligence agencies assured the companies involved, such as ITT, RCA and Western Union, that there was no chance of prosecution.

The Minaret plan was authorised by the White House in 1967 — just as Parliament in Britain was getting excited about a revelation in the Daily Express by Mr Chapman Pincher that copies of overseas cable traffic were regularly handed over to British intelligence. The practice, Whitehall advised privately, was allowed under British law, specifically under section 4 of the 1920 Official Secrets Act.

Mr West's book is the second this year to reveal that GCHQ operates clandestine stations in Africa, including one at the British embassy in Pretoria and one at the High Commission in Lusaka. This takes on added significance in the light of a recent disclosure in the New York Times that the US, working closely with GCHQ, has provided the South African government with information about the operations and leadership of the African National Congress.

These incidents illustrate the close relationship between GCHQ and the NSA, strained only during the Suez crisis. But the description of the Minaret episode by Mr West (alias Rupert Allason, prospective Tory candidate for Torbay and son of a former Conservative MP) is particularly timely in the light of CND's complaint to the High Court about MI5 telephone taps, the Government's attempt to prevent the Guardian and the Observer from publishing allegations made by Mr Peter Wright, a former senior MI5 officer, of unlawful acts by the security service, and demands by MPs that the British intelligence services should be more accountable and subject to tighter controls.

It is timely also in the light of concern expressed privately (or in the case of Cathy Massiter, a former MI5 officer, publicly) by a small but apparently increasing number of officials in the intelligence community about the lack of safeguards.

MI5 reportedly has the capacity to hold basic computer data on about 20 million people. Developments in electronics and computer technology have given GCHQ the ability to eavesdrop on communications indiscriminately. The only safeguard is the official's own conscience. It is up to him to decide whether to throw away tapes of private conversations between innocent citizens or groups rather than passing them on to MI5 or Whitehall.

Present and former officials say that the present political atmosphere and the use of the intelligence services for political ends (the use, for example, of MI5 by the Ministry of Defence to get information on CND) make these voluntary safeguards worthless.

But crude political interference works both ways. It is now being said that the intelligence services are under pressure to provide the Government only with the information that it wants to hear. It is not a new phenomenon, however. GCHQ and MI6 were quick to inform the Wilson government about the way Rhodesia broke sanctions in the 1960s. The government said it did not want to know and told the agencies to concentrate their attention elsewhere.

When asked recently by the Commons Treasury and Civil Service committee whether Watergate would have emerged in Britain, Sir Robert Armstrong, the Cabinet Secretary, replied: "Yes, it would, and much, much quicker." Officials ask how, given Sir Robert's strict code covering the duties and loyalties of officials and the absence of any code of ethics covering their behaviour.

While the Government is trying to prevent the publication of Mr Wright's memoirs in Australia by suing him for breach of confidence, it has obtained a civil injunction temporarily preventing publication of a book by a former GCHQ employee. Mr Jock Kane, a former radio supervisor at GCHQ, says that his book is being suppressed in an attempt to cover-up security lapses rather than protect classified information. According to reports in the American press, other revelations relate only to what the spy, Geoffrey Prime, revealed to the Russians.

The Government, which is desperately worried that the Australian courts will take a more relaxed attitude towards the Wright memoirs than British judges, failed to prevent Mr Gordon Welchman, one of the brilliant mathematicians who worked during the war for the Government Code and Cypher School — the fore-runner of GCHQ — from publishing in the US an account of how enemy codes were broken. Sir Peter Marychurch, the director of GCHQ, told Mr Welchman that his initiative could cause "direct damage to security", a charge dismissed as absurd in a letter to the Guardian by one of Welchman's wartime colleagues, Sir Stuart Milner-Barry.

The argument of both Sir Robert Armstrong and Sir Peter Marychurch is one of principle rather than substance. They say that if Welchman, Wright, and Kane get away with it, other former intelligence officers may be encouraged to follow suit (as has happened in the US).

The argument about substance is based on the alleged fear that potential enemies will gain valuable information. Yet as West and other authors have made clear, spies like Geoffrey Prime at GCHQ and a long list of others in the US have already passed on much more valuable information to the Russians, including details of sophisticated spy satellite systems, than any former employee of the intelligence services has published or threatens to publish.

What does worry the Government is the threat of former intelligence agents publicly expressing concern about improper conduct or unlawful acts and corroborating politically embarrassing information disclosed by informed outsiders. Normally, the Government's policy is to maintain a discreet silence and avoid drawing attention to disclosures (a policy it may yet regret not having adopted in the Peter Wright case).

For example, it quietly ignored a book published last year (See You In November, by Peter Stiff) which says that MI6 plotted to kill Colonel Gadafy in 1970. The author, who lives in South Africa, describes the book as a true account given to him by a former SAS and Rhodesian intelligence officer, code-named Taffy.

The plan, according to the book, was to free political prisoners in Tripoli prison and attack Gadafy in his Tripoli residence. But the attack was foiled at the last moment by the CIA — this was at the time the US decided that although Gadafy was anti-West, he was also anti-Soviet. There could be somobody worse running Libya, the US argued.

The Government argues that the exposure given to the intelligence services — which have a combined annual budget estimated at about £1,000 million and a total manpower of about 10,000 — is not only helpful to foreign powers but is also a threat to the morale and effectiveness of organisations carrying out legitimate activities in the national interest.

But it is increasingly edgy because it also fears that the disclosure of politically embarrassing or controversial operations will lead to a growing number of MPs, including Conservatives, wondering why the British intelligence community should not be subject to the same democratic oversight as their counterparts in the US and other Commonwealth countries such as Australia. Former intelligence officers are intervening in the debate, saying that if the morale is damaged by disclosure, it is equally threatened by bad management and by the lack of safeguards against political abuse by Government.

GCHQ, The Secret Wireless War, 1900-1986, by Nigel West, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, £12.95. See You In November, by Peter Stiff, Galago Books, £15.95.

The British prefer freedom to riches

By Martin Linton

BRITISH people are nothing like as interested in getting rich as the Japanese or the Americans, according to a survey carried out by Gallup Poll for London Weekend Television.

Only 9 per cent of Britons said that their main goal in life was to get rich, whereas 38 per cent gave this answer in Japan and 15 per cent in the US.

The great majority of respondents in the British survey said that their main aim in life was "to live as I like" (77 per cent). "To get rich" came in second place only just ahead of "to work on behalf of society" (8 per cent).

In terms of money the main concern of British people was just to have "enough money to be free of financial worries" (61 per cent) rather than to have "plenty of spare money in the bank" (16 per cent) or "a great deal of money" (only 2 per cent).

The people interviewed for the survey had a remarkably low opinion of those who were rich, finding them more likely to be educated and ambitious than other people, but also more rather than less likely to be ruthless (by 67 to 5 per cent), snobbish (62-4), greedy (56-3), and less rather than more likely to be generous (40-12), caring (38-6), honest (37-4), and slightly less likely to be hard-working (32-22).

The last charge was strenuously denied by the rich themselves who said that to become rich they had to work "a lot harder" (60 per cent) or a "bit harder" (8 per cent), though a majority of them conceded that they had not had to sacrifice family life (79 per cent), sacrifice time with friends (71 per cent) or even give up leisure activities (51 per cent).

The public at large considered the rich to be more rather than less likely than other people to try to avoid their taxes (80-5). But, curiously, they thought they would be less rather than more likely to succeed (42-14). If someone had started with almost nothing and become very rich, however, they were more likely to believe he had "something to hide" (49 per cent) than that he was "above board and honest" (35 per cent).

The main reasons why people became rich in Britain were considered to be inheritance (36 per cent), hard work (24), exceptional ability (17), or "by exploiting others" (9). The same question produced rather different answers in Japan, where they put inheritance at 51 per cent, ability at 20, and hard work at 12. In the US, they put hard work top at 43 per cent, inheritance at 20, and ability at 13.

The role of the rich was seen quite differently in the three countries. In the UK, 34 per cent thought the rich "live a life of leisure", and 34 per cent believed they "support the British heritage by maintaining stately homes and buying works of art," 29 per cent thought they "create jobs and prosperity" and 26 per cent thought they "exploit others".

In the US, 39 per cent thought they helped the economy by creating jobs and only 18 per cent thought they exploited others. In Japan, 69 per cent thought the rich lived a life of leisure and only 12 per cent thought they helped the economy.

Leading climbers perish on K2

By Martin Wainwright

SIX climbers, including two Britons, froze and starved to death on K2, the world's second-highest peak, after being trapped in a blizzard for more than a week, according to a survivor at the weekend.

Kurt Diemberger, an Austrian mountaineer and film maker, said in the town of Skardu, in Pakistan, that two Austrians, two Britons and two Poles died in early August on the 28,250ft mountain. Mr Diemberger and a fellow Austrian, Willi Bauer, were the only survivors from the eight mountaineers trapped in a makeshift camp near the summit of K2, he said. Both suffered frostbite.

The two Britons who died were Mrs Julie Tullis, aged 47, and Mr Alan Rouse, aged 35, a British Himalayan expert. Several of the climbers, of whom Mrs Tullis is known to be one, had already succeeded in reaching the summit of K2.

The eight climbers belonged to Austrian, British and Polish expeditions, who were climbing or had scaled K2. Italiana and South Korean expeditions were also assaulting the peak in the far north of Pakistan, near the Chinese and Indian borders.

The eight were near each other and close to the summit when a huge blizzard hit on August 7. They took refuge in a camp to wait out the storm, said Mr Diemberger. However, when the storm lasted for more than a week the mountaineers ran out of food and became progressively sicker from the cold and altitude.

Five people died in the camp — Mrs Tullis and Mr Rouse; Austrians Hannes Wieser, aged 30, and Alfred Imitzer, aged 43; and Wojten Wroz, of Poland.

Mr Diemberger, Mr Bauer and a second Polish climber, Miss Dobrolsawa Miodowicz, managed to get out after about seven days and start down the mountain. Mr Diemberger said he last saw Miss Miodowicz at about 19,800 feet. Austrian diplomats said that another Austrian climber, Michael Messner, aged 25, was still listed as missing.

Mr Diemberger and Mr Bauer managed to reach a base camp at the bottom of K2, where they were looked after by South Korean mountaineers until a Pakistani military helicopter airlifted them to Skardu.

Mr Rouse of Nether Edge, Sheffield, had been on 15 Himalayan expeditions. His girlfriend, Ms Deborah Sweeney, is expecting their first child on August 26, the day he was due to return home. When told of Mr Rouse's death she said: "I am proud to be having Alan's baby. It has given me strength at this time."

K2, which Mr Rouse tackled unsuccessfully three years ago, was to have been his last big climb. After returning from the Himalayas he planned to settle in Sheffield and operate an adventure travel company.

His party left for the Himalayas on May 1, arriving at base camp three weeks later. The party at first attempted one of K2's two unclimbed ridges, but were forced by bad weather to switch to one of the four ridges already climbed.

Mrs Tullis's husband, Terry, a climbing instructor from Tunbridge Wells, said that a telegram from the Foreign Office had confirmed his worst fears. "But I am so proud that she got to the summit. That is what she wanted and what she worked for," he said.

THE WEEK

THE Soviet Politburo halted three controversial river diversion projects and approved a scheme for private cooperatives to provide consumer goods and services. Tass said that work was to stop on two schemes to divert northern and Siberian rivers to the arid south after strong protests, particularly by some of the nation's leading writers. Further study was needed, it said.

Construction of a national memorial to the second world war in Moscow, which has drawn strong objections, is also to stop. A national competition should be held to get another design for the memorial, the Politburo said.

POLITICAL fall-out from the Chernobyl accident claimed more victims last week when six senior members of the Soviet nuclear hierarchy were either thrown out of the Communist Party or severely reprimanded for their "errors" at the time of the disaster. Three government ministers have already been sacked.

A POWERFUL car bomb killed 20 people and wounded nearly 100 in Christian East Beirut last week. The seventh car bomb in three weeks, it brought the death toll from these and smaller explosions to 107, with about 550 wounded.

DR JOAQUIN BALAGUER, aged 78, has been sworn in as President of the Dominican Republic for the fifth time. The conservative Dr Balaguer, elected in May thanks largely to divisions among his leftwing opponents, warned that he would crush "anarchy" during his four-year term.

The United States, which organised his election as President a year after invading the Caribbean state in 1965 to snuff out a leftwing uprising, was represented by Secretary of State George Shultz. But Mr Shultz spurned efforts to get him to talk with the Nicaraguan President, Mr Daniel Ortega, who was also present.

NUCLEAR experts representing 62 members of the International Atomic Energy Authority last week concluded three weeks of intense negotiations with a broad agreement on early notification and mutual assistance after nuclear accidents which could herald a major breakthrough in international law covering nuclear safety. The agreement will have to be ratified by a full meeting of IAEA's 117 members next month.

THE US Senate judiciary committee last week approved the nominations of William Rehnquist as US Chief Justice and Antonin Scalia to be a Supreme Court justice, sending both to the full Senate for final action. The Republican-controlled committee voted 13-5 in favour of Justice Rehnquist and 18-0 for Justice Scalia.

PRESIDENT REAGAN, renewing America's commitment to manned space exploration, said last week he was ordering construction of a fourth shuttle to replace the ill-fated Challenger. At the same time, Mr Reagan said commercial satellite launches would be phased out when the shuttle resumes operations in early 1988.

THE White House at the weekend welcomed a tax package, agreed by Senate and House of Representatives negotiators, which edges his dream of tax reform closer to reality. Congress will vote on the agreement, which came after tough bargaining, next month. The most sweeping overhaul of the tax system since the second world war, the measure would affect the finances of almost every family and business in the US.

COLLECTORS in New York paid a total of around $850,000 for various items once owned by the deposed Philippines' President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda.

THE Israeli authorities last week ordered the closure of two leftwing Arabic newspapers, the daily Al-Mithaq and the weekly Al-Ahd, published in east Jerusalem, on the grounds that they disseminate the views of a radical Palestinian guerrilla organisation.

SPAIN granted official status to the Palestine Liberation Organisation mission in Madrid, a move seen by diplomats as intended to balance its opening of diplomatic relations with Israel and to enhance its role in the Middle East.

INDIA'S Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, vowed to wage a relentless war against terrorism and separatism as India celebrated its 39th Independence day amid tight security measures across the country. Addressing the country from the Red Fort in Delhi, Mr Gandhi declared he "would finish terrorists in a few months".

There are reports that the Government is considering a series of new anti-terrorist laws which would give the police and security forces sweeping powers to smash extremist organisations.

FOUR members of a racist terrorist organisation, SOS France, were killed when their car was blown up by their own bombs in the French Mediterranean port of Toulon. Among the dead was Mr Claude Nobila, a former candidate of the extreme right National Front, which has 33 members in Parliament elected on an anti-immigrant campaign.

IRAN claimed Iraq used facilities of neighbouring countries in last week's air raid on the Iranian Sirri island oil terminal in the Gulf. Iran claimed two Iraqi planes were shot down.

THE South African Government has published the names of 8,501 detainees being held without trial under the state of emergency. The names were released to the South African parliament on 171 pages of foolscap paper which gave no details of the detainees' addresses or the regions where they were held.

60 dead as rebels shoot down plane

By Nick Cater and agencies in Khartoum

SUDANESE rebels have re-affirmed their determination to shoot down all planes flying over southern Sudan and claimed responsibility for shooting down a Sudan Airways passenger plane on Saturday. All 60 people were killed.

A radio broadcast by the Sudan People's Liberation ARMY (SPLA), monitored here, said the plane was shot down near Malakal by members of its Fashodha battalion. It blamed the deaths on the Sudanese Government for ignoring rebel warnings not to fly over rebel-controlled territory.

"The deaths of innocent citizens on the plane rest clearly on the shoulders of the Khartoum Government, which turned a deaf ear to our initial warnings," the rebel radio said.

In Malakal, Colonel Simon Manang, governor of Upper Nile Province, told the Sudan News Agency that the Fokker Friendship plane crashed after being hit by a missile as it left Malakal for Khartoum. All the victims, most of them women and children, were Sudanese. No foreign aid workers were aboard.

Confirming the rebel intentions to shoot down all planes in the area, Captain Daniel Kodi, a spokesman for the SPLA, said the rebels were still convinced the Government in Khartoum was using civilian flights as cover for shipping arms and ammunition to army units.

"That's why the warning stays. All SPLA units will shoot at planes without exception," he said in a telephone interview from the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.

A C-130 transport plane which has flown 44 tonnes of maize to Wau from neighbouring Uganda has been grounded at Entebbe airport since last Friday after the Sudanese rebel warning.

A statement from the International Red Cross headquarters here said: "The ICRC is very concerned about the civilian population as well as about the latest developments in the situation in southern Sudan, and hopes to be able to resume relief flights as quickly as possible."

With child nutrition rates across much of southern Sudan approaching levels reached during the worst of last year's drought, only in the southern-most region, Equatoria, has any relief operation been possible in rural areas, with food coming in from Kenya.

Russians extend freeze on nuclear testing

By Jonathan Steele

MR MIKHAIL GORBACHEV this week announced a further unilateral extension of the Soviet Union' year-old freeze on nuclear testing. The Soviet leader's move is intended to encourage the US Congress, Nato allies, and world opinion to press President Reagan into a productive summit meeting.

He challenged Mr Reagan to sign a treaty banning all nuclear tests this year. "This event would undoubtedly be the main real outcome of the meeting and a considerable step on the way to ending the arms race," Mr Gorbachev said in a speech on Soviet television.

The US State Department promptly rejected any notion of a comparable American ban. "As far as the US is concerned, we believe a nuclear test moratorium is not in our security interests nor that of our friends and allies," a spokesman said.

However, the White House spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said: "We've always been interested in a testing agreement that would provide for some means of verification."

He indicated the type of test ban agreement the United States foresees would be limited in scope. "I think in the case of a complete and total test ban, it would have to be taken in the context of arms reductions," he said.

Mr Gorbachev has extended the unilateral halt to Soviet tests three times now in order to promote a mutual superpower ban which most independent arms control analysts believe would be a simpler and more easily verifiable brake on the arms race than all the complicated numbers games in Geneva.

His speech came barely a week after the US House of Representatives voted to ban all but the smallest American nuclear tests next year if the Soviet Union agreed to continue its ban. (See below.) The US Senate, less dramatically but nevertheless showing impatience with Mr Reagan's position on testing, has called for the United States to accept the Soviet Union's offer of new negotiations for a test ban.

Mr Gorbachev gave no hint that a summit meeting later this year would be conditional on Mr Reagan's agreement to sign a test ban treaty there. But he has been careful not to say in any of the three major speeches he has given this month that he will definitely meet Mr Reagan this year.

The Soviet and American foreign ministers are due to meet in Washington next month to discuss a summit agenda. The Soviet side postponed the last such meeting in protest at the American bombing of Libya.

Since then, tentative moves towards a summit have revived. Last week both sides' top arms control negotiators met for two days in Moscow.

Most independent scientists now believe that both superpowers' underground nuclear tests can be reliably detected, thanks to advances in seismic and satellite technology. Earlier this month a group of six influential states — Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania — renewed their offer to act as independent monitors of seismic instruments. These could be set up at the three sites where the superpowers have conducted their most recent tests — Nevada in the USA, and Novaya Zemlya and Semipalatinsk in the Soviet Union.

Mr Gorbachev agreed in December 1985 to the principle of "on-site inspection on request."

Arms rebuff for Reagan

By Michael White in Washington

THE Reagan Administration suffered a double rebuff to its arms control policies after the House of Representatives placed a second, unprecedented barrier in the path of White House defence policy.

Tactically, President Reagan may yet retain his freedom of action with the help of the Senate. But "this is as dramatic as the House decision in the early '70s to cut off funds for the war in Vietnam", one congressional official said last week.

Whereas previous clashes over the annual Defence Authorisation Bill have usually been about specific programmes — like Star Wars, or the MX missile — the current House rebellion challenges central tenets of the White House's defence and arms control policies: nuclear testing and the futility of past agreements with Moscow.

Hard on the heels of its weekend decision, carried by a convincing 234 votes to 155, to halt all but the smallest nuclear tests in 1987 if as they have now announced, the Russians agreed to continue their own moratorium, the Democrat-controlled House last week voted against providing any funds for weaponry which would exceed the levels agreed in the 1979 Salt II treaty that the White House repudiated last May.

Nineteen Republicans deserted their President in the 225 to 186 vote which would, in effect, oblige the Pentagon to scrap another Poseidon nuclear submarine once its programme for rearming B-52 bombers with cruise missiles reached the 1979 limit.

More predictably, the House agreed to cut the White House's request for $5·3 billion next year for Star Wars or Strategic Defence Initiative research to $3·1 billion, against the Republican Senate's increasingly grudging version of $3·95 billion.

The battle to hold the Pentagon budget below $300 billion now seems relatively uncontroversial, having first been won last year. But this year the cards are not stacked so much in the White House's direction.

Growing death toll in Pakistan riots

By Eric Silver in Lahore

GOVERNMENT and opposition supporters fought hand-to-hand in the streets, and police fired shotguns at rioters, as political protests swept southern Pakistan, leaving at least eight people, including four policemen, dead.

The deaths marked the first day of a nationwide opposition campaign to remove President Zia ul-Haq and to free gaoled dissident leaders, including the Pakistan People's Party head, Benazir Bhutto, who was served last week with a month's detention order.

Two policemen were killed when about 4,000 protesters attacked them in Karachi's market area, a government spokesman said. The other policemen were killed and another injured in Hyderabad district, when they tried to stop 200 protesters from blocking a road, police said. Twelve people were arrested.

The spokesman put the day's deaths at eight, but opposition members said at least 11 had been killed in clashes in Sind.

North of Hyderabad, demonstrators blocked the national highway in two places with huge trees. Ten people were wounded when the police opened fire to disperse the mob and reopen the road. Rail traffic was also disrupted in various parts of the southern province when rioters burned sleepers and damaged stations.

Public meetings are banned for two months in Sind, but similar restrictions were lifted in Punjab at the weekend. A procession of about 3,000 MRD supporters passed off peacefully in Lahore. The march was led by Mr Malik Sayed Hassan, a former High Court judge, who appealed for a "peaceful, disciplined struggle". Their aim, he said, was to restore government to the people. "With love and peace and friendship, we shall prevail," he told them.

Armed police were deployed in force along the route from the old walled city into the wide mall of the new, but they were visible rather than provocative.

The demonstration ended with the crowd chanting "Zia is a dog, Junejo is a dog", the by now familiar (and tolerated) insults to the President and his Prime Minister. Two young men climbed the clock tower of a three-storey office block and tore down two green Muslim League flags, leaving a single national flag, a relic of last Thursday's Independence Day, still fluttering.

(Le Monde, page 11; Washington Post, page 16.)

Buthelezi offers talks to ANC

THE leader of South Africa's Zulus, Chief Buthelezi, has offered talks with the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, on how to unite the country's blacks. At a weekend rally he noted that the gaoled ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had made it clear that the Zulu Inkatha movement "could not be brushed aside in any future negotiations about South Africa's future". Chief Buthelezi has made Mr Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC a pre-condition for his involvement in the Government's attempts to start negotiations on black political rights. According to recent reports in Washington the CIA was involved in the arrest of Mr Mandela in 1962.

In a gibe clearly directed at the ANC, President Reagan last week said he had been assured by Chief Buthelezi and others that radical black nationalists were only urging the West to adopt sanctions because "they want to foment massive disruption, hunger and despair of the people" in order to seize power themselves. Despite the State Department's call for talks with the ANC, he claimed that ANC exiles making public statements were members of the South African Communist Party. Black South Africans were not being as severely oppressed as Nicaraguans were by the Sandinista regime, he said, repeating his conviction that President Botha's "goal is to eliminate apartheid".

The Republican-led US Senate last week approved 84 to 14 a package of wide-ranging economic and political sanctions against South Africa. The House of Representatives had already approved a much stronger bill and the Senate action makes final passage by Congress of a sanctions package next month a virtual certainty. The Senate bill would bar all new US investments in South Africa and loans to the private sector, ban imports of uranium, coal, steel, iron, textiles and agricultural products, and freeze deposits in US banks held by Pretoria or state-owned firms. It also would end landing rights for South African Airways, ban imports from companies owned or controlled by the South African government and withdraw consular facilities for South Africans.

In South Africa itself the Government's Bureau for Information reported seven more deaths in politically-related violence. On Friday night two men were "necklaced" in an East Rand township. Near Durban 20 people set a house alight and then threw the owner on to the flames, while in the western Transvaal another man was burnt in a house. On Saturday, near Port Elizabeth, security forces arrived as a black was about to be burnt. They shot dead one of his attackers. In Soweto another man was burnt to death in his car and in the Orange Free State a man was shot dead by security forces. Conflicting rulings in the Natal Supreme Court about the validity of detentions under the state of emergency have led to a moratorium on further applications for the release of detainees. The tiny homeland of Kwa Ndebele in the north-east Transvaal has scrapped plans to take Pretoria-style independence to defuse a popular uprising.

In a comment on President Botha's speech last week (see below) the British Foreign Office said: "President Botha said his government is irrevocably committed to dialogue. But he did not suggest any new moves by his government that would encourage the start of that process. The British Government remains convinced that successful dialogue can only take place if the representatives of the full range of black opinion in South Africa are involved. We are disappointed that President Botha showed no signs of taking the quantum leap forward."

Sanctions breach international law, says Botha

By our Foreign Staff

PRESIDENT BOTHA last week launched a broadside against the international community and appealed to South Africans to unite in fighting sanctions against their country.

In his speech to 1,600 delegates of the ruling National Party, Mr Botha said: "We are not in the dock before an international community because we are guilty. We are there because we are the prey of greedy world powers, who are entertaining the idle hope of eventually pouncing upon the riches of our country."

South Africa was where the First World and the Third World met. "This is the country where the historical hatred of the Third World and the historical guilt complex of the First World interface in the vendetta against South Africa," he said. "Our unity must be sacrificed for the sake of a discordant world. The blood of a sacrificial lamb is sought as penance for centuries of injustice. That sacrificial lamb is South Africa, and more specificially white South Africans."

South Africa would not only survive economic sanctions but emerge the stronger on the other side. "If we have to suffer sanctions for the sake of maintaining freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. As part of our common endeavour, we in South Africa must unite in our resistance against proscription, interference and threats from abroad. We must each work at the creation of a national will. That will enable us to achieve breakthroughs against sanctions, in the same way we overcame the arms and oil boycotts with initiatives of which we can all be proud."

Mr Botha said that international actions against South Africa were "serious transgressions" of the UN Charter and international law. "I wish to warn the international community: there is a real danger that once a politically motivated deviation from this principle has been established, it will become easier to allow political preferences to dictate similar deviations in respect of other countries and issues.

"We are irrevocably committed to dialogue as part of the process of the broadening of our participatory democratic institutions," he said. "Dialogue should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of the groups and communities in our multi-cultural country is jeopardised.

"Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's constitution, I will keep my promise to consult the voters beforehand. Such consultations on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect."

In his speech, Mr Botha strongly defended the policy of creating independent and partially self-governing "black homeland," describing it as a process of broadening democracy.

While many observers see the independent states as a product of "grand apartheid," Mr Botha told the party faithful that they were "born through an orderly process of evolutionary constitutional reform." They had as much right to exist and to international recognition as the smaller independent states of the Commonwealth, he said, citing island states such as the Seychelles as examples.

Mr Botha hinted at the establishment of new black mini-states under his government's policy of "broadening democracy." He asked: "If a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why cannot black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city-states."

There was no contradiction between the government's reform processes and the "strict, but temporary measures" taken to ensure continued law and order.

"Our policy is one of orderly, evolutionary change, in contrast to the so-called liberation of violent revolutionaries. In Africa, we have repeatedly seen the consequences of premature liberation without proper preparations and planning.

"In January of this year I said very clearly in parliament that we have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid. But there is no need for us to disown and to condemn our past in a spirit of dejection and despair."

The State President repeated an offer to Western leaders to hold talks on military, social and economic stability in southern Africa. "The Republic of South Africa holds the economic key for unlocking the wealth and resources of our region," he said. "Without South Africa there can be no prosperity for the subcontinent of southern Africa."

This offer was at first welcomed by President Reagan but the British Foreign Office was cool in its response. It recalled a recent statement of Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, which said that the problem did not require the creation of new forums.

[President Botha later used the latest blundering by President Reagan to ridicule international attitudes. Referring to Mr Reagan's enthusiastic response to his summit proposal — a welcome later contradicted by the State Department when it was realised that apartheid would not be on the agenda — Mr Botha said that the West reminded him of a child pulling petals off a flower and saying "I love you. I love you not."

["One moment they will talk to us and then something else happens and they won't," he said, adding that the West would have to talk to South Africa if it wanted to help the sub-continent. "They can't deny our existence and they can't deny our role in southern Africa. We have been in this country for 300 years and we have built it to where it is and we will continue to build it for the next 300 years."]

President Botha made it clear that his government was clinging to two tenets of the apartheid system — the segregation of residential areas and of schools.

In a speech closing the congress, Mr Botha noted that the President's Council — an advisory body to government under the present constitutional system — was compiling a report on possible reform of the Group Areas Act, by which residential segregation is imposed. He said he was prepared to look at the issue "objectively" but "as long as I remain leader of this country" he would remain true to the principle of separate land ownership. He also insisted on his right to send his son to "a school of my choice," to ensure he received tuition in his own culture and language.

At the Congress, the South African Government proposed the creation of a black electorate to choose leaders for negotiations with whites on the future of powersharing. The offer was made "on behalf of the Government" by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Mr Heunis, the architect of the South African "reform" programme, said such elections would be for representation on the so-called National Statutory Council — the body which the government has been struggling to set up as a means of thrashing out ways of granting "full" political rights to the black population.

The offer is likely to be met with some scepticism outside government, however, in view of the reluctance which potential black leaders have already shown towards participation in the National Council. In particular, the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has said that he will not take part unless the government releases Mr Nelson Mandela and lifts the ban on his outlawed African National Congress.

Several cabinet ministers indicated at the congress that the government's stance on the ANC had hardened. "We either talk on the basis that the ANC abandons violence, or we don't talk," said the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, stressing that a "suspension" of violence was not enough.

The Defence Minister, Geral Magnus Malan, was even more emphatic, saying: "The Western world with its demands about Mandela, about talks with the ANC, and the unbanning of the ANC, should also note: we will not be manipulated by words which clothe the devil in the cloak of an angel.

"These countries, organisations, and people who so piously wish to prescribe to us to talk to the ANC should note the following: why don't the British talk to the Irish Republican Army, why don't the Germans talk to Baader Meinhof, and why don't the Italians talk to their Red Brigade?"

The 24-hour congress was marked by repeated denunciations of sanctions by ministers. In particular Australia was lambasted for what were claimed to be its self-seeking motives in leading the sanctions drive.

THE U.S. HAS SENT US GUNS, AMMO...
CONTRA AID





WHERE'S THE POPULAR SUPPORT?
CONTRA AID
WASSERMAN

Contras to get US arms next month

By Mark Tran in Washington

NICARAGUAN rebels can expect to start receiving US military supplies from mid-September, US officials and congressional sources said after Senate approval of President Reagan's $100 million Contra aid request. The Senate voted 53-47 last week in favour of the package, which includes $70 million in military aid.

Analysts here said that the Administration's priority will be training the Contras. The emphasis, said Mr David MacMichael, a disillusioned former CIA consultant, will be on special units and the officer corps. Much of the training will be conducted openly in Honduras by US Army special forces mobile training teams and Vietnam veterans on contract to the US Army.

Mr MacMichael, like others, points out that allowing the CIA to get involved in the Contra war effort means that the Administration will be able to tap an additional $400 million in CIA contingency funds over which Congress has no control.

Observers say that the lack of Contra access to any significant population inside Nicaragua will preclude any large-scale expansion of rebel numbers. New recruits will come primarily through conscription among refugees who fled the border fighting by seeking shelter in Costa Rica and Honduras.

Analysts predict a new Contra offensive six or nine months after the resumption of American military aid if only to demonstrate its credibility to Congress. It is widely expected that the rebels will try to seize a town and install an alternative government with a view to American recognition.

During the entire debate on Contra aid in Congress, opponents of Administration policy argued that the military aid package for the Contras would eventually lead to American troops fighting in Nicaragua.

President Reagan hailed the Senate action as a vote for democracy in Nicaragua and urged the negotiators to reach agreement quickly. President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua condemned the Senate vote as "scandalous" and a violation of international law.

Michael Simmons adds: British disapproval of the Senate vote was voiced in Whitehall last week. A Foreign Office statement said that while US policy was a matter for the US, the British view, shared with "our European partners," was based on the conviction that the problems of Central America "cannot be solved by military means."

Congress backs Reagan's crusade against Nicaragua

THE US Senate has now voted to set in motion a train of events which could crown or ruin, and certainly dominate, the final Reagan years — not war in Southern Africa, the arms race or the ailing world economy, but the political settlement in the small Central American republic of Nicaragua which has become Ronald Reagan's personal obsession.

Last week the last filibuster was voted down and final congressional endorsement given to the $100 million White House proposal openly to finance the military subversion of a government with which it retains full diplomatic relations and whose president, Daniel Ortega, appears on US chat shows — in his suit not his fatigues.

In pursuit of its policy the Administration is prepared to defy the World Court, ignore domestic public opinion (which remains hostile), alienate its Nato and EEC friends who disapprove, and cajole Congress and the Central American republics alike into acquiesence. A damaging war and a Latin debt crisis are both on the cards. If the redoubtable Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien's contribution to the latest issue of the Atlantic Monthly is correct, so is a Latin breakaway from the Roman Catholic Church. For the Marxist Sandinistas have managed to harness *el dios de los pobres* — the liberationist "church of the poor" — to Latin nationalism, and worsted the Pope in the process.

Yet President Reagan has chosen to make the defeat of the Sandinista regime a moral as well as a strategic imperative. He need not have done so. Only the excessively pious would deny that the United States has legitimate security interests in its own backyard, even though the President's maps and wallcharts, showing the range of Sandinista subversion and Soviet MiGs, strain credulity.

But we have heard less lately about Managua's subversion of El Salvador. Perhaps the charge has served its purpose now that the Salvadoreans have a respectable, if weak, civilian head in President Duarte and the Contras are an established, if weak, military fact in their Honduran camps. Geopolitical considerations merge with a moral crusade to restore democratic pluralism, US-style, inside Nicaragua, Monroe's Doctrine blends with Reagan's and gives rise to the pleasing thought: does the President realise it is his predecessor of that name and not Marilyn, we are talking about?

This crusade is the product of an interesting bit of cross-breeding between gut anti-communism on the right (exemplified by Secretary of State Shultz) and that strain of crusading liberal zeal which renegade Democrats like Jeane Kirkpatrick have brought with them from the party of Woodrow Wilson and Jack Kennedy. Ronald Reagan is arguably the first "neo-conservative" of the school, unless we count Winston Churchill.

In this particular drama, one key player, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the ambitious Mr Elliot Abrams, was only born in 1948. His passage from Harvard and the LSE to the royal family of academic neo-conservatism (he is the son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz and Midge Dector) included apprenticeships on the staffs of Senators Henry "Scoop" Jackson and Pat Moynihan.

At age 38, Abrams is one of just two senior survivors after six years in the Reagan State Department (the other is Chet "constructive engagement" Crocker) and his apparent energy injects one of the few notes of moral complexity into the drama. Abrams it is, who, in the interests of even-handed application of the crusading Reagan doctrine, appears to be applying pressure not just on Nicaragua, but on the rightwing dictatorships of Paraguay and Chile. Not Contra pressure, of course, but enough to win him the abuse of Senator Jesse Helms — a development which will do the lad's career no harm at all.

It is Washington's public claim that its modest down payment of $100 million of taxpayers' money will turn the tide; the motley collection of Contra leaders really will fulfil the promises of victory in a year or so; that the long-suffering people of Nicaragua will take heart and resist; and that the Marxist comandantes will split, crumble and flee to Havana or Mexico City; that Moscow will acquiesce.

In this last hope they may be right. The Soviet leadership has invested only modestly in the Nicaraguan adventure, its pragmatism more pronounced than Washington's. But it will not be that easy. No one here, except possibly the President, believes that the gap between rhetoric and reality can be filled by $100 million, especially when the funds must (on well-documented congressional evidence) run to Miami real estate, cocaine deals and kickbacks as well as soldiers' boots.

By Michael White in Washington

At this point the pessimists predict that the Administration is creating its own Vietnam and that the commitment of the US Marines to another 21 year tour is the logical consequence of the policy. Even that old warhorse, George McGovern, was forced to break his silence of his enforced retirement the other day to offer dire warning. Oddly enough the military, so wary since Saigon days, is positively gung-ho and says the whole show could be wrapped up in a month.

The Administration insists that its $100 million package is the alternative to direct military involvement and there are enough cowardly congressmen who voted for it as the lesser evil. But evil it will be and, whatever happens, the White House will be back for more next year.

What is likely to happen is this. Congress has re-opened the door for the CIA to run the Contra war from Miami and from the camps on the Nicaraguan borders. Weaponry, including Stinger missiles to neutralise the Sandinistas' Soviet Hind helicopters, will flood in. US special forces, Green Berets, will be free at last to train the Contra forces. Intelligence support has been authorised and the presumption must be that the kind of "covert" skullduggery which Congress halted in 1984, assassination manuals, mining of ports, will be revived. For the evidence of the past two years shows that congressional oversight, the conscience clauses, will be nigh impossible to enforce. The CIA's own funds will be available — hundreds of millions of dollars.

Most likely the Contras will attempt to take and hold territory on which to declare a provisional government which the US can recognise while de-recognising Managua. That is what Ortega predicts and Senator Richard Lugar appears to expect. It was tried in the Jalapa Valley in 1983 and failed. In an unpublished paper, former CIA analyst, David MacMichael, now working for the liberal Council on Hemispheric Affairs here (COHA), predicts the Contras will this time try Puerto Cabezas or "less likely" Bluefields on the isolated Atlantic coast, far from Spanish population centres, among the separatist Miskito Indians.

In short, a Bay of Pigs Mark II in which US air and naval power would not be pulled back by the bleat of conscience if it was needed to sustain a bridgehead. From there on nobody really knows what happens next, but the Nicaraguan "provocation" on the Honduran border last March saw US helicopters rush up local troops and could provide justification for direct intervention under the Rio treaty.

Washington banks on greater economic and military pressure producing greater internal repression and has so far not been disappointed. Sophisticates here want to see the revolution stew in its own juice rather than recycle the legends of Sandino. This is a view which, coupled with Mr Reagan's notorious caution in all but words, lends itself to a dirty little low intensity war — keeping options open until something turns up or the President leaves office.

It will not go down well with American public opinion which likes its wars clean and over by tea time. Nor should it. But the clock is ticking against Mr Reagan.

The economy that went from the Red to the black

Martin Walker on the face of corruption in the USSR

AN ITALIAN colleague who knows the Soviet Union well recently described it as the most corrupt country in the world, with a black economy larger than that of Italy and a passion for bribes and gifts that bears comparison with the Middle East or West Africa.

He may be right. But with the Soviet Union undergoing a great national spasm of a campaign against corruption, with ministers and ambassadors and top officials being arrested and the papers filled with accounts of the trials, it is worth thinking seriously about what corruption really is and what it means.

In a paradoxical way, official corruption is based on the assumption of honesty. You assume that once an official is bought, he stays bought, and delivers the service for which he is bribed. To this extent at least, we are not really faced with a vast and institutionalised dishonesty, but a matter of payment for services rendered.

The other feature of corruption which blurs the morality of it all is the way that poor countries need corruption as an excuse to keep the state budget under control. There is less pressure to pay clerks and officials a decent wage if you can assume that they make up their salaries in bribes.

Corruption, in short, is the free market system run riot. In a centrally planned economy like the Soviet Union, or in an economy where goods are distributed through a rationing system like Britain's in the 1940s, corruption is a way of restoring the classic capitalist system of rationing through price. Anything is available, to those with wealth or influence.

In the later years of Leonid Brezhnev, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that this kind of capitalism was re-entering Soviet life through the back door. The black economy was broadly tolerated, as an essential lubricant of a creaking and inefficient system. Indeed, Brezhnev's own family and cronies were up to their necks in it.

His son, Yuri, who has just been given early retirement from his sinecure as a deputy minister of foreign trade, used his money and his privileges to go hunting in Africa and night-clubbing in Paris, and on one famous occasion at the Crazy Horse began tipping the topless girls with $100 bills.

Brezhnev's daughter Galina liked the high life and loved diamonds, which led to a complex scandal that involved the arrest of her lover, Boris the gypsy, a purge of the state circus for foreign currency manipulations, and the "suicide", of her protector, the deputy head of the KGB General Semyon Tsvigun.

The whole bizarre business, which took place shortly before Brezhnev's death, was to the Brezhnev period what the Profumo scandal had been to the Macmillan years in Britain.

But the very size of the Soviet Union meant that the corruption was on an altogether grander scale than it ever reached in Britain, in spite of the regional scandals that hit the north-east of England with the Poulson affair and Wales with the Taffia saga. In Georgia, Azerbaijan and throughout the traditionally Muslim republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the rest of them, local officials had the autonomy to run the place like so many satrapies.

In Azerbaijan, until the great purge which swept away the entire local praesidium, the minister of interior and all the senior party secretaries, the going rate for promotion to local police chief was 50,000 roubles, and the post of first secretary of a district party committee cost a staggering 200,000 roubles.

Taking charge of that purge won Geidar Aliev his current seat on the Politburo, just as the career of the current foreign minister Eduard Shevarnadze took off when he ran the purge in Georgia. There are more vast clean-ups under way in Central Asia this year.

Half of the party leadership in Uzbekistan has been replaced and although Brezhnev's old crony Dinmukhamed Kunayev remains in charge of Kazakhstan, the second and third ranks of the party administration beneath him have been swept away after scandals that involved people building private horse-racing courses and luxurious private homes.

But the question is now being publicly raised whether the police inquiries and the purges go far enough. There was a remarkable letter published in the Moscow press recently from a young man who has just been promoted manager of a food store.

"There exists the dangerous delusion that having arrrested several hundred criminals, having publicised their crimes, we have managed to put an end to the illness. This is only partly true. Certainly the people who took and gave bribes, those who set up the vast network of theft and corruption have now been isolated. But has the system they created been destroyed at the roots?" he began.

He went on to describe his own experience. The trade department which controls and supplies his shop had been investigated, "Practically all the leadership was imprisoned or dismissed," he claimed, "but as soon as I became shop director, there was a phone call saying I should not forget that tomorrow was the birthday of Polina Ivanovna from the accounts office. Such phone calls from various trading and controlling organisations keep on ringing as if nothing had happened."

"We depend on our suppliers, and they accept our orders, but if our orders are not supported by something impressive, by this or that kind of bribe, we can be left without products," he went on.

"It is not enough to uproot the sick tree. It is necessary to decontaminate the ground around it. I see the way out only in changes affecting the whole economic mechanism. I'm convinced we need radical changes — the sooner the better."

The layers of tarnish on the Reagan White House

Michael White on the face of corruption in Washington

IT looks as if Nancy Reagan is going to be looking for a new personal maid to help maintain her position as America's First Lady of Fashion. Anita Castelo, 45, who accompanied her everywhere, even to the royal wedding, has just been charged with aiding and abetting an illegal scheme to export ammunition to her native Paraguay. All 95,000 rounds of it, in 19 heavy cases.

It all has the makings of a small personal tragedy even if Mrs Castelo's plea of not guilty is eventually upheld. It seems the lady who carried a beeper so that Mrs Reagan could always find her — in return for a modest $17,430 a year — acted as interpreter for some fellow-countrymen just arrived who suddenly wanted to go "shopping".

Mrs Castelo, a US citizen since 1967, was spotted helping to buy the .22 calibre ammunition — more likely destined for hunters than soldiers. "It's called naivite and she bubbles with it," says her lawyer. "Anita, you know, gets lost walking across the street," said a friend.

Not a breath of scandal will touch the President whose suits are made of non-stick teflon, or even Mrs Reagan now that her interest in drugs has made her a serious person.

Mrs Castelo's name — rightly or wrongly — is likely to end up on the list of Reagan administration wrong-doers, who, in record numbers, have been "accused of unethical or illegal conduct since 1981" as the Washington Post put it. The paper recently named no less than 110 senior officials across two full pages.

There is an element of political malice and humbug in such accounts, as Reaganite apologists unapologetically bellow whenever the Post or Gary (Doonesbury) Trudeau unleashes a volley. Not all have been accused of improper share dealing — like CIA director Casey — of contracting with the mafia — ex-Labour Secretary Ray Donovan — of jobs for the boys — Attorney General Meese — or, like others, peddling influence through the fast-revolving door.

Some have just been honest-to-God racists — Chief Justice Rehnquist — or, in the case of Securities and Exchange Commission Enforcement Chief John Fedders, a homely wife-beater. If provincial Washington of living memory has become a fat cat town, awash with lobbyists, consultants, Pentagon contractors and tax-supported hangers-on of every description, then Congressmen of both parties, high-minded think-tankers and even the elite media personnel have also shared the agreeable consequences.

Since 1976 the personal staff of the 535 Congressmen has more than doubled to 11,625 as has (to 44,394) the number of lawyers in town. Political donations to the campaigns of incumbent politicians are a scandal that continues to defy reform. Publicists touting "mentions" for their clients, or massaging images in key media, evoke memories of tinseltown in its prime — Hollywood on the Potomac. The manipulation of images, is, after all, what Ronald Reagan's Presidency is all about.

The aggrandisement of Washington has grown apace with the Republic's ambitions, domestic and foreign, since the war, but what sticks in the craw with the Reagan crowd is the sheer hypocrisy of a political philosophy dedicated to the denigration and diminution of government which does so well out of it for its own.

The President is a great frontman because he gives every impression of believing it. In Chicago the other night seconds before he boasted how much his government had done for America's tottering [illegible] he actually said "I've always felt that the nine most terrifying words in the English language are 'I'm from the government, and I'm here to help'."

Farmers who reflect where their roads, electricity, dams, buyers-of-last-resort all come from may find such stuff a little crude. In Washington they should be the nine most reassuring words in the English language For a supreme irony has ensured that, with the possible exception of Wall Street, the Reagan philosophy has ensured that fast bucks are made fastest in Washington with the help of the taxpayer.

The most striking feature is the rampant notion that you come to Washington, less to serve the nation than serve yourself. Government service is seen as a stepping stone to the real money. White House or congressional aide for five years, then a lobbyist or influence peddler.

It may be less ruinous than back-handers in Lagos, death squads in San Salvador or the moral stew which is the Soviet way of running the show but it is debilitating enough. An American does not have to be a latter-day Thoreau contemplating Walden Pond to find distasteful David Stockman's leaving the Budget office for Wall Street and selling out his colleagues for a $2.4 million publisher's advance — strictly legal too.

Michael Deaver, Reagan PR man from way back — he once saved Governor Reagan from choking on a chicken bone — is the man whose stupidity and greed is supposed to bring down the temple. Last week a congressional subcommittee concluded he had perjured himself in trying to explain away his post-White House contracts to represent Canada, Korea and the rest. Deaver is in real trouble now, but has all the makings of a sacrificial lamb while the system which tolerated him thrives.

COMMENT

End of the line with Mr Botha

THE AMERICAN Senate's overwhelming endorsement of sanctions implies that the US will within a month apply tougher measures against apartheid than anything so far envisaged by the Commonwealth or the European Community. The six-to-one vote for a series of trade embargoes suggests that there should be no difficulty in finding the two-to-one margin needed to overrule a veto by President Reagan. The House of Representatives voted earlier by a large margin to put a total ban on trade with South Africa, but the compromise now to be worked out is likely to be closer to the Senate bill than the House's. Rather than be overruled, Mr Reagan may decide on a beefed-up version of last year's executive order, issued to pre-empt tougher congressional moves (which were much milder than the last Senate package). Either way, Washington seems set to adopt a stance on sanctions which will throw Mrs Thatcher's resistance to them into even sharper relief. At the Commonwealth summit she offered to swallow the moderate Community measures due for endorsement next month. Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, the other chief laggard on sanctions, is unlikely to hold out alone, so by the end of September the Americans, the Commonwealth, and the Europeans may succeed into dragging Britain into more sanctions.

Events in South Africa as the Senate debated showed that President Botha has conceded as much reform as he is going to. At the end of his party's federal congress he made it clear he would never abolish residential or educational segregation. He has said time and again that he will not accept one person, one vote in a unitary state; on the contrary, his new proposals last week would extend the balkanisation of South Africa beyond the "homelands" to the black townships as "autonomous city-states." Even the brief ray of hope amid the gloom that the courts might release thousands of detainees had faded by the weekend, before the Government initiated action to close the loopholes found by lawyers.

The general defiance emanating from Durban undermined in advance the value of the Government proposal to let the African majority elect its own representatives to negotiate on a new constitution. We have long advocated the creation of such a mechanism, and we would have welcomed it as little as a year ago. But Pretoria's hardened position against negotiating with the African National Congress suggests that ANC leaders like Nelson Mandela would not be allowed to stand; and even if they were, the racial policies on which the Government has excluded discussion would foredoom talks with such people to failure in any case.

As Mr Botha leads the whites into the laager for what is likely to be a prolonged last stand, his strategy has at least been clarified starkly enough to discredit those of his foreign sympathisers who still believe he can be persuaded to go further on reform. He believes (quite correctly, it has to be said) that he can never get ahead of the demand for change no matter how far he might go, unless he concedes the principle of majority rule, which is anathema. He has the example of the highly effective sports boycott, which began by demanding integration of teams; when this was widely conceded, the ante was raised to desegregation of the whole of South African society — just for playing games with the Springboks. By imposing a state of emergency to quell revolt and sending foreign mediators home with a flea in their ear, Mr Botha has signalled his refusal to be drawn by this method into the ultimate concession, surrender of white domination. We now know exactly what he meant when he ad-libbed menacingly in his disastrous "Rubicon" speech of just a year ago, "don't push us too far." Apartheid will not be dismantled so long as Mr Botha is alive. But sanctions are not only a signal to those with closed minds; they are also intended for the African majority whose goodwill it is the West's ultimate interest to win and retain.

Reports, pages 7, 15, 16

Bhutto arrest

Continued from page 1

principal buttress for the Zia regime, which has profited handsomely from Pakistan's strategic proximity to Afghanistan. The Americans were instrumental in getting the General to lift martial law eight months ago, which enabled them to claim that at least one of the nasty dictators among their allies and clients was open to persuasion on human rights.

The wheel has almost turned full circle. Many of those now under the MRD umbrella were in the mass movement which ousted Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the PPP in 1977, opening the way to the harshest of the military regimes Pakistan has had between its brief bouts of democracy. Ever since General Zia, who believes Islam and democracy are irreconcilable and Islam must come first, took over he had promised a restoration of civilian rule. The delivery date has receded further and further into the future, and last week's police action can only be seen as another attempt to put off what he clearly regards as th... evil hour. The longer he represses the demands for secular democracy and regional autonomy, the bigger the explosion will be when it comes. The General is politically bankrupt and if his American creditors are to savage their position in Pakistan they should stop investing in his regime.

A crop of problems for Mr Gandhi

THE Sikh terrorists, said Mr Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi last week, "are on the run." Wearing a bullet-proof jacket and screened by armoured glass and 5,000 police, with helicopters hovering overhead and army sharpshooters on the rooftops, the Indian Prime Minister promised an unusually thin crowd that terrorism would be eliminated within a few months. Those who may have thought that the assassination of General Arun Vaidya, the invader of the Sikh Golden Temple, suggested otherwise were told that this was the desperate act of a terrorist movement on the verge of extinction. Meanwhile in the troubled Punjab, some 200 people were arrested in a generally successful effort to prevent national-day protests against the central government. The chief target was the breakaway Badal faction of the Punjab's ruling Akali Dal party, the main body of which still favours cooperation with Mr Gandhi.

Mr Gandhi publicly committed himself to ending terrorism forever and also to "killing the snake" of Indian religious fanaticism. The present condition of the country makes these intertwined tasks a tall order. Together they threaten to become the bane of Mr Gandhi's premiership, despite the promise of his remarkably lengthy honeymoon period, during which he seemed to carry all before him in soothing intercommunal tension. Now there is strife between Hindus and Sikhs inside and outside the Punjab, between Hindus and Muslims in Gujarat, between Bengalis and Gurkhas in the far north. The Prime Minister condemned regionalism and communalism as enemies of progress last week, but barely two weeks before he conferred de facto statehood on Mizoram, the Indian outpost between Burma and Bangladesh, to put an end to 20 years of separatist guerrilla warfare there. Last year Mr Gandhi made a number of concessions to Akali Dal on regional autonomy. The moderate Sikh movement went on to defeat his own Congress (I) party in a state election, to the relief of all concerned, including the Prime Minister. But Hindu and Congress (I) diehards undermined his conciliatory moves, and Mr Gandhi's failure to keep them in line did much to revive Sikh fundamentalism.

Even allowing for the immense complexity of governing an ethnically and religiously diverse democracy of 750 million people, there are signs of irresolution and self-contradiction in all this. No wonder many Indians think Mr Gandhi cannot make up his mind; it is a small step from that to the harder suspicion that he is being Machiavellian and not just indecisive. The recent split in Akali Dal and the resurgence of Sikh terrorism reflect such suspicions. The genie of Sikh fundamentalism, let out by his mother (who paid for it with her life) to undermine the Akali Dal's moderate regionalism, will not be forced back into the bottle by treating Sikh anger as a law-and-order problem. Mr Gandhi has been accused by Indian commentators of pandering to Hindu sentiment in his handling of the Punjab problem, which his initial conciliatory approach came tantalisingly close to settling. Of course he must face down the terrorists; but the lesson of his own brief term of office is that the removal of the grievances which a tiny, murderous minority takes to extremes is the only route to social peace.

Reaching the tragic heights of obsession

As K2 in the Himalayas claims the lives of two leading British climbers, David Rose examines the fatal attraction of the sport.

ON the Savoia glacier at the bottom of K2, a three-week trek from anything that resembles civilisation, there is a small cairn bearing a cross and a series of aluminium plaques with the names of those who have died on the mountain's slopes.

The British climbers Alan Rouse and Julie Tullis, who perished from cold, exhaustion and hunger with four others sometime last week, must now be added to a bleak roll-call. K2, the world's second highest peak, deserves its epithet "the savage mountain" only too well: it has now claimed 20 lives.

Since 1978, when Nick Estcourt disappeared under tons of falling snow on another expedition to K2, the tiny elite of British Himalayan climbers prepared to attempt the 14 mountains more than 8,000 metres high has lost many of its brightest and best.

In 1982, Joe Tasker and Peter Boardman — arguably the two most gifted writers of mountain literature this country has produced — disappeared high on the still-unclimbed Everest northeast ridge. Two years later, Alex MacIntyre, a Scot with a string of high-altitude successes to his name at the age of 28, was killed by a falling stone on the south face of Annapurna. Last year Roger Baxter-Jones, another mountaineer of vast competence and experience, was killed in the Alps.

The poignancy of the deaths of Rouse — on his last expedition, two weeks before the birth of his first child — and Tullis, who did



Alan Rouse



Mrs Julie Tullis

not begin Himalayan climbing until her forties but went higher than any British woman, is almost unbearable.

But as the news of their disappearance began to break among the climbing community at the weekend, the enthusiasm of those who remain seemed undimmed. Sandy Allen, a veteran of Everest, Lhotse and other Himalayan ventures, said: "I never encourage anyone to take up climbing. If they really want to do it: fine, I'll give them every support. But otherwise, no. It takes over your life."

Since Mallory's celebrated, if enigmatic, comment that he wanted to climb Everest "because it's there" both climbers and non-climbers have attempted to explain the fatal attraction, mostly without success. But the all-consuming nature of the obsession is not in doubt.

Most of the highest peaks have been scaled, usually many times: the emphasis now is on new, hard routes, done in "Alpine style" — without porters, oxygen, chains of fixed rope and well-stocked camps, in a single push.

To achieve the fitness and acclimatisation necessary for such ascents, it is no longer possible, as in the days of Mallory, to do much but climb.

The theory behind Alpine-style ascents is that they minimise danger: by spending less time on slopes prone to avalanche and storms the chances of individual climbers falling victim to these "objective" risks over which they can have no control are reduced.

The theory has statistical backing: according to a survey in the latest issue of Mountain magazine, 60 per cent of the 280 deaths on 8,000 metre peaks up to the end of February 1986 were caused by objective events. To those bereaved by the deaths of Alan Rouse and Julie Tullis, it is small comfort: but the same survey also found the odds of dying are rather better than was once thought. The fatality rate among those setting off for 8,000 metre peaks is not the often-quoted figure of one in ten but 3.4 per cent, although as the survey noted, "for those who return again and again the risk is obviously higher".

In recent years, parties climbing in Alpine style have succeeded on routes in the Himalayas which would once have seemed inconceivable. Perhaps the most remarkable was the ascent last year of the west face of Gasherbrum 4, a 26,000 foot peak a few miles from K2. The two-week climb by a single pair involved unprotected rope lengths of nearly 300 feet between ledges on crumbling, technically difficult rock, followed by a descent of an unclimbed ridge: besides such an achievement, Reinhold Messner's solo, oxygenless ascent of Everest in 1980 begins to seem almost easy.

New routes have been climbed Alpine-style by British parties on Shishapangma and Kangchenjunga. Alpine-style, according to Messner, means climbing by "fair means:" for those who succeeded, the personal reward and satisfaction appears to be much greater.

But the margin for coping with the unforseen must be pared almost to nothing. Speed is essential, and speed means reducing weight. When a storm breaks, as it did on K2, the climber has only the contents of a rucksack and the will to live.

Expressing another aspect of the climbing obsession represented by Messner and Sandy Allen in their different ways, Rob Collister, a mountain guide and instructor and a close friend of Boardman, Tasker and Rouse, said that as he had become more capable as a mountaineer, he had found it necessary to do harder and harder routes to derive the same "peak experience" and heady euphoria, to climb in smaller teams in increasingly dangerous and remote locations.

Then there came a point where he, like many climbers, stood back: he began to wonder if striving to attain such an experience was any longer worthwhile.

Perhaps the apparently fatalistic remarks of Terry Tullis and Rouse's lover Deborah Sweeney reported after Alan's and Julie's deaths, that they had achieved the peak of their ambition, begin to seem explicable. They, more than anyone, knew the strength of the obsession, and that in the terrible days in the blizzard before a cold and airless death the fact of having reached the summit made a difference.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Reagan abandons the moral high ground



MANAGUA'S LEADERS obviously did not take long to react sharply to the US Senate vote on Wednesday, August 13, approving the package of $100 million in military and humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan "contras" that President Reagan had been insisting on for the past six months.

While this is undoubtedly a major victory for Reagan, it is also an ambiguous one. After an intense personal campaign, the US President succeeded in changing the minds of a majority within the Congress which until then had opposed a US commitment to men whom Reagan emphatically describes as "freedom fighters". But the dividing line is still narrow between the champions of stepped-up and publicly-acknowledged military aid and those who fear the escalation will turn into a Vietnam-style conflict in Central America.

Public opinion in North America is moreover largely quite opposed to any possible direct or indirect armed US involvement in Nicaragua. The United States has normal diplomatic relations with Managua, yet it is bankrolling an armed movement dedicated to overthrowing the Sandinista government. A situation that is a particularly shocking paradox and anomalous, to put it no more strongly.

The US Senate vote was castigated as "scandalous" by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega speaking at a news conference in Managua the next day. He described the renewed aid given by the United States to the "contras" as an "infringement of international law" and a "threat to world peace". He also pointed out that

COMMENT

World Court in The Hague had condemned the United States for direct and indirect intervention in Nicaragua over uhe past two years.

This is a moral condemnation which scarcely seems to bother Reagan, since he has decided that the United States will in all probability not recognise any future World Court decisions concerning Central American conflicts. So far, however, the Sandinista leaders appear to have failed to make the most of this major advantage in their relations with world opinion. This is partly because the fund of goodwill they had to begin with has since signally diminished. Even some of their sympathisers in the Socialist International are now voicing their doubts about the way in which they claim to be applying the three principles of their revolution — political pluralism, a mixed economy and nonalignment.

Every new American threat, every new "contra" onslaught has so far been met with another turn of the screw in Managua, thereby playing into the hands of the Sandinistas' enemies who condemn the regime's inexorable drift into totalitarianism. There is no sign that the helping hand Washington has given the "contras" is going to persuade Managua to take a new moderate line.

The Senate vote moreover does not modify the balance of power on the ground in the short term. For months the "contras" have not shown that they are particularly combative. But the Sandinistas are going to have to intensify a war effort which is helping to strangle Nicaragua's drifting economy.

(August 16)

Pakistan set for violent phase

Violent clashes marked Pakistan's Independence day on August 14 with the government cracking down hard on opponents. At least six people were reported killed, and the Opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, 33, was arrested for ignoring an order to stay at home and not take part in public gatherings. Opposition groups were reported to be planning a day of national protest against General Zia ul-Haq's government.

FOUR MONTHS after the triumphant homecoming of Benazir Bhutto, the leading opponent of General Zia ul-Haq's regime, a power struggle is shaping up in Pakistan. Indeed, for the first time since lifting martial law the authorities not only banned opposition meetings set for August 14, which is the country's independence day, but also proceeded to make preventive arrests of hundreds of opponents, and put under house arrest the daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was executed in 1979.

The Opposition reacted by announcing the meetings would be held anyway and threatened to call a large-scale "national protest movement" in the next few days if those arrested were not released. As for Benazir Bhutto, who has been calling for early elections, she was banned from entering the province of Punjab for five days and consequently was unable to preside at the big meeting which was due to be held in the province's capital, Lahore.

These events are hardly a big surprise. President Zia ended nine years of martial law early this year and restored many civil rights, but he retains a firm grip on power. Because it boycotted the 1985 parliamentary elections, the Opposition is now practically unrepresented there. So when she returned from exile in April, Bhutto launched a campaign urging dissolution of the present Chamber. For weeks her meetings, which were permitted by the government, continued to draw substantial crowds in main cities.

After the Ramadan pause, it was doubtless time for Bhutto, who enjoys an undeniable popularity, to renew her appeals to the "people in the street" so as to put pressure on Zia, who for his part has the backing of the army and conservative elements in Pakistani society.

COMMENT

But this time, under the excuse of maintaining law and order, the regime decided to put at least a temporary check on opposition activities.

The measures are a serious threat to the "democratisation" of Pakistan, with which Zia — currently on a pilgrimage to Mecca — has frequently expressed satisfaction. But the question is whether the protest movement led by Bhutto has not rather run out of steam in recent months. At any rate, the Pakistani government is counting on the extra-parliamentary opposition weakening and a part of public opinion becoming tired of the "agitation" orchestrated by Bhutto. Whatever happens, the power struggle between the veteran soldier and his young opponent is entering a phase which looks like being more violent than the previous one.

(August 15)

Peru walking the debt tightrope

IT COMES as no surprise that the International Monetary Fund has decided to rule Peru ineligible for new credits. For six months now, the IMF has been taking a fairly flexible attitude by putting off a decision to exclude Lima from international loans for having paid back only a very small portion of its outstanding debts. The leniency appeared to work, for in May Peru decided it would pay back $180 million of its arrears by August 15. The debtor-country's subsequent failure to meet the deadline — only $35 million having been been repaid — and the violent attacks against the IMF that accompanied the defaulting made the decision inevitable.

So now we have Peru joining the small band of bad debtors which include Vietnam, Sudan, Liberia and Guyana. But this should not affect Peru directly. For two years now it has received no new credits from the IMF, to which it owes a total of $750 million. But the indirect repercussions of being excluded by the IMF could prove to be far more dangerous. Creditor governments, banks and even other international lending institutions will necessarily have to heed the IMF ruling when considering future applications for credits by Peru. Lima had kept up with its repayments to the World Bank, from which it has borrowed $123 million, but the World Bank headquarters acknowledges that everything affecting Peru's situation will have to be taken into account in granting any further loans.

International financial circles are, moreover, beginning to express their reservations about a country owing them over $14 billion during bad times when Peru's export earnings from oil, copper and silver are steadily

COMMENT

declining while imports of foodstuffs are rising as a result of price controls which have produced some shortages. And Peru's attempts to circumvent the IMF by making arrangements with lender countries to reschedule its debts or pay them off in kind has scarcely met with a favourable reaction except from Eastern-bloc states.

Since assuming power in July 1985, 35-year-old Peruvian President Alan Garcia has elevated the question of non-repayment into a principle and has become the champion of the rebellion against the austerity policies imposed by IMF officials. Because creditors are "guilty of having injected considerable sums of money willy-nilly regardless of the uses to which it was put", and accordingly bear responsibility, he plans to keep Peru's debt repayments down to 10 per cent of its export earnings.

But while much of his criticism of the IMF is justified, the Peruvian President has not succeeded either in persuading other Latin American countries like Mexico, Brazil and Argentina to follow his lead, or in forging a cartel of the region's debtor nations.

This is because international financial circles, including the financial communities of the debtor nations themselves, know that nothing would be worse than making unilateral declarations about non-repayment of debts. The resulting general mistrust in would cause a seizure in the financial circles would cause a seizure in the world's economic machinery. What the indebted nations need for correcting their economic situation is not credit curbs, but higher growth, new credits and more satisfactory market rates for raw materials.

Socialists under threat in Hamburg

By Claire Tréan

EVER SINCE the June protests against the building of nuclear plants at Brokdorf and Wackersdorf touched off violent confrontations, that part of West German public opinion which regularly clamours for more police protection and tighter law enforcement has become more vociferous. The controversy over public safety has become particularly sharp in Hamburg where, with three months to go before the regional elections, it has set off one of the worst crises the administration of this Land has ever known.

Hamburg Police Chief Albert Honka handed in his resignation on Monday, August 11. The week before, the interior and justice ministers of the Land government resigned. Things were precipitated by a bloody and spectacular incident which took place on July 29 at the Hamburg courthouse.

On that day, Werner Pinzer, a hardened killer from the St Pauli underworld who was in court on five counts of murder, pulled out a gun and killed his wife and the state prosecutor, before turning the weapon on himself. The gun had apparently been slipped to him by his wife during an earlier visit to the prison where he was being held.

Hamburg was in uproar. How was such a notorious criminal given visiting rights? Why was surveillance so slack? And why was he even granted fairly special treatment in gaol (the authorities apparently hoped to obtain information from him on the Hamburg underworld)?

The Social Democrats who have been running the Land for the past 30 years or so came under fierce attack. The local conservative press demanded that heads should roll and public safety became the all-absorbing preoccupation of all Hamburg. In this Hanseatic city, which has long been grappling with the problem of crime — armed hold-ups, prostitution, drugs — people began complaining about police inefficiency, the authorities' weakness, crimes that went unpunished and the offences committed by prisoners let out on home leave.

The SPD realised that if it wanted to retain its absolute majority in the November 9 Land elections, it would have to act. Two ministers — Eva Leithäuser (Justice) and Rolf Lange (Interior) — resigned.

Land government leader Klaus von Dohnanyi cannot, however, abandon his public safety policy without risking to appear to go back on his word and offending a large part of his constituency. "Hamburg," he told the weekly magazine Der Spiegel, "is pursu-

Continued on page 12

Who is making political capital out of the Nucci affair?

By Corine Lesnes

EARLY JULY. The power-sharing arrangement (between a Socialist President and a rightwing Prime Minister) was working fairly smoothly with the President voicing occasional reservations about some of the ruling Majority's draft bills. The President's popularity rating was at its highest. In New York, he had a meeting with Ronald Reagan; in Moscow, with Mikhail Gorbachev.

On an altogether different plane, the Carrefour du Développement case was pure pulp fiction. People chuckled over the property deals of a (former) head of a private ministerial cabinet, a clairvoyant and a sub-prefect and the amorous extravagances of a former graduate of Saint Cyr military academy. Wheeling and dealing against a background of Third World development.

Back to Moscow. On July 9, the President lunched with a group of journalists. As was his custom, he made a few disclosures. One of them being that he would not sign the governmental decree on the privatisation of nationalised industries which was due to be adopted the following week at the cabinet meeting.

The following day, Le Monde quite unofficially uncovered a handwritten memorandum sent by Yves Chalier, former head of Christian Nucci's ministerial office. The memorandum had been written at least two months earlier and its existence was known little more than a fortnight before. In its 13 handwritten pages, Chalier — who undoubtedly saw which side of his bread was buttered — accused his former bosses: Christian Nucci, primarily; but also Guy Penne, who is President Mitterrand's adviser on African affairs.

July 14. Mitterrand refused to sign the decree. That was when the Carrefour du Développement case took a sudden and more dramatic turn. Forgotten were the Château d'Ortie and the Bujumbura Franco-African summit. The spoor now inexorably led to Nucci's *commune*, Beaurepaire, his election posters and his fake invoices, with a little diversion on the side to the Elyseé by way of the Socialist Party and Paraguay.

On July 16, the satirical weekly Canard Enchainé revealed that the President's office had to pick up the bill for an armoured Renault R-25 car which had already been paid for in 1985 by Carrefour du Développement. A week later, the same weekly showed how Henri Emmanuelli, who was Secretary of State for the Budget at the time, had been tipped off on Chalier's juggling acts. Meanwhile, the police swooped on Beaurepaire, and also searched the Paris offices of OFRES, a publishing firm working for Socialist municipalities. Jean-Pierre Michau, the investigating judge, came back from his holiday specifically to charge Nucci's printer. Chalier, who had contacted a Figaro Magazine reporter, sharpened his attacks and revealed in almost mocking tones that he had met Mitterrand and discussed the affair with him. The pieces were moving up on the chessboard.

More coincidences, of course. Officially, the way the case was building up had nothing to do with the political situation. Justice, everybody kept saying, was taking its course, and if the investigation had suddenly veered towards the most political (which, moreover, cannot be denied) aspects of this scandal with its numerous episodes it was quite simply a matter of chance. Nor should anyone see anything more than mere coincidence either in the fact that the first hiccup in the power-sharing arrangement coincided with the start of Nucci's troubles.

But chance, as popular wisdom has it, often has many ramifications. With all due respect to certain people, the "coexistence" requires the events to be interpreted in two ways. Each new situation has its new scandal. For example, has there ever been anything so fantastic which set off so little controversy? However much Nucci may gravely complain about the "political exploitation" of the case, he would be hard put to give the tiniest example of it. The scandal over alleged misuse of ONASEC

Former Minister of Cooperation Christian Nucci, the central figure in allegations about public funds being misused for private purposes, has announced he would himself ask for his parliamentary immunity to be lifted if that proved to be an obstacle to the current judicial investigation. Nucci is a member of the Assembly for an Isère constituency and mayor of Beaurepaire.

(Office National l'Education Sociale et Culturelle des Répatries) funds, which is trifling compared with the Carrefour case, has been joyfully seized on by the present Secretary of State for Repatriates André Santini, and his predecessor in the post, Raymond Courrière. But you would look in vain for the tiniest cynical public remark on the Nucci affair by any minister currently holding office.

Should this be seen as one of power-sharing's bonuses? People who have no such illusions will see it rather as consummate skill on the part of the Majority in handling the case. It is clearly playing its cards carefully. It is letting the facts, the actors and especially the bank accounts speak for themselves. And the message is coming across: the Socialists have no monopoly of morality. So, not one word too many. One thing the ruling coalition does not want is to be held responsible for any breakdown of the power-sharing arrangement.

In private, there are fewer inhibitions. Boasting? Some think that in the Carrefour case they have leverage on the President. July 14 proved they were mistaken (Mitterrand chose his customary televised chat to the nation on National Day to announce he had no intention of signing certain decrees). But how far can the case go? That is the nub of the question. Does it contain enough to gradually erode coexistence? Very few today would be able to answer this question mark hanging over the Socialists.

It is said the case is expected to drag on. Dutifully respectful of power-sharing, Minister of Cooperation Michel Aurillac regularly reports to President Mitterrand on what is happening. Obviously the only member of Chirac's government who has been authorised to make statements on the case, this former prefect has so far steered a faultless course, raising the pressure when interest dies down, stepping back when necessary and above all keeping the matter strictly within a national framework. As Minister of Cooperation, Aurillac is determined to separate the Carrefour case from France's African policy.

Though he describes himself as a simple "spectator" in the case, he nevertheless makes regular statements: he says he is "shocked" by Yves Chalier's statements, speaks of "banditry", boosts the total sum unaccounted for to F20 million, raises questions about Penne's role in organising the Bujumbura summit, or considers aloud that Nucci's former cabinet chief has "taken care not to spill everything". If the Majority was looking for someone to punish "bandits", it has found him in Aurillac. "In 20 years' service I've never come across such extravagance," he says.

So, politeness on the surface. There are others to do the less glorious chores. Anonymous telephone calls are on the increase; people tip the press off on features of the scandal they feel are unlikely to be brought to the attention of the police. People opposed to power-sharing perhaps? At any rate, these tip-offs are not surely coming from Nucci, or Hubert Haddad, the founder of OFRES.

Quite apart from this wretched atmosphere, the real questions remain unanswered. The first of course concerns what happened to the F6.5 million which was taken out in hard cash. It should not be be too difficult to find out whether the security men — public employees or mercenaries — sent out to Bujumbura were actually paid cash bonuses as Yves Chalier claims. The second: has not the spotlight been trained on Nucci's escapades so as to draw attention away from far more serious matters in which, contrary to Aurillac's wishes, France's African policy is well and truly involved?

And then again, to switch to another area, we cannot help wondering why Chalier's memorandum, which in all probability was written early in May, reached Aurillac only on June 13 as his office claims. What happened during the first fortnight of May before the charges of falsifying documents were filed? And again, why did the judge wait two months to issue a warrant for Chalier's arrest? This last coincidence is doubtless not the least troubling: rumours concerning the former military officer's (lieutenant-colonel) flight "to a country with which France has no extradition treaty" began spreading just about the time he had left London.

(August 12)

The 13 members of the South Pacific Forum decided unanimously on August 8 at Suva, Fiji, to demand that the question of New Caledonia be put on the agenda of the United Nations Decolonisation Commission. They considered it was urgent to settle the matter. The only reservations were expressed by Sir Thomas Davis, Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, who had met Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in Paris last month. Sir Thomas suggested it might have been better to wait until the referendum that the French government has proposed to hold in New Caledonia before next summer. Nevertheless, he voted with the other 12 on the question. The ruling on the request to put the New Caledonia issue on the agenda will be made by the "Committee of 24", presided over by Cuba's permanent representative at the United Nations, Oscar Oramas-Oliva. The expectation is that if nothing happens to hold up the procedure, the case of New Caledonia could be put down on the UN commission's agenda by November.

This is the eighth time that New Caledonians seeking independence have asked for their case to be taken up by the UN. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who headed the FLNKS (Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste) delegation to the Suva meeting (it was admitted on an observer basis), pronounced the Forum's initiative "very positive". The decision, he said, gave them "a new position in the Pacific."

Senator Dick Ukeiw of the RPCR (Rassemblement Pour la Calédonie dans la République) said "New Caledonia's political problem is one for the New Caledonians and the New Caledonians alone...(it) should not be internationalised through a vote in the Forum." And he added: Nothing will shake the New Caledonians' firm determination to remain French and decide their own future."

Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand announced at the Forum that Great Britain and the United States would probably sign the protocols of the treaty declaring a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. If this happened, France would be further isolated.

France loses its way in the Pacific

FRANCE has suffered a serious diplomatic setback at the South Pacific Forum where it was implicitly accused of perpetuating a colonial situation in New Caledonia in defiance of international law and morality. While the advocates of New Caledonian independence and their supporters emerged strengthened from the test, the Suva (Fiji) summit of 13 South Pacific countries illustrates France's growing isolation in southern seas.

It is too soon, however, to speculate on what might happen to New Caledonia's petition for its case to be considered by the United Nations commission on decolonisation. It is even more premature to say what effect the initiative might have on political developments in Nouméa, Paris, or elsewhere. Indeed, though the Forum considered that the French government's policy was a "big step backwards", it did find "some positive aspects" in its approach to the question. Besides, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is expected to use his forthcoming visit to Nouméa to put things in their proper perspective.

It is quite possible that this is not an irrevocable condemnation. But it would be pointless to cavil about details so as to evade the blindingly obvious and wriggle out of considering its implications.

France has lost a major battle at Suva. For years Paris has done its best to stop France being dragged back into the dock as an inglorious and unregenerated colonial power. The Forum's decision will put France squarely in the dock, which is all the more uncomfortable as it is hard to see other governments overtly rushing to help it out.

COMMENT

France has been put under close watch.

Another obvious point is the way the Forum, which happily went along with the independence-association project previously worked out by Edgard Pisani and Laurent Fabius, unanimously repudiated all or part of the plan put forward by Chirac and Bernard Pons. In the Forum's view, the reality of independence cannot be circumvented. The Kanak community also takes this view. And tomorrow it will be shared by the world community, if the initiative to put the matter before the United Nations follows its course.

How can the dilemma be solved? How to avoid raising local, regional and international tensions? How to prevent the New Caledonian issue from turning into an international cabal and setting a regrettable precedent for France's other overseas *departements* and territories? The answer now depends primarily on Chirac's government. While this is so and whatever the reasoning that prompted it, the government has taken big risks by going back on the course towards independence-association. With the ultimate risk of missing the bus on decolonisation while still being unable to head off independence. But independence without France.

The decline in French influence that would inevitably follow would be all the more regrettable as the outcome hoped for in New Caledonia by the South Pacific Forum countries would have doubtless helped to mollify the tempers frayed by France's nuclear policy in the South Pacific. But the fact is, while France has lost a battle, it has not lost the war. Or New Caledonia, either.

(August 12)

Socialists under threat in Hamburg

Continued from page 11

ing a complicated public safety policy. We're trying to be as liberal as possible, while being very firm with lawbreaking. For this we need the full trust of the people, who otherwise could accuse us of complacency. We have lost this trust in recent weeks. As I want to stick to this policy — liberalism and firmness — I have no choice but to sack people."

But the crisis has not been solved for all that, for another charge has been made against the police since June 8 when an anti-nuclear demonstration in Hamburg turned nasty. Several hundred demonstrators from Hamburg and Berlin who were prevented from joining the main rally at Brokdorf following various incidents with the police gathered at a large field in Hamburg where they held a spontaneous rally — one which was consequently unauthorised.

The police surrounded the demonstrators and began searching them and checking their identities. The operation lasted 15 hours and produced little or nothing: 11 arrests out of 800 persons hemmed in for hours and who were described as dangerous *chaoten* (wreckers, agitators). The left wing of the SPD, the Greens and Liberals in Hamburg were shocked and attacked police incompetence.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD England.

IS A racing driver a top-notch athlete or a kamikaze? Doctors — who have now muscled into sport in a big way — still do not know quite how to approach Formula One driving, particularly as they have only recently begun to play a prominent role on international circuits.

I am referring of course to the work of doctors *before* races, and not to medical aid provided during events, often under difficult conditions, which usually involves ultra-specialised first-aid and resuscitation techniques, as well as the whole range of traumatological surgery.

The medical study of Formula One drivers is a new discipline which in France is being practised by only a handful of doctors (Claude Meistelman, Jean-Paul Richalet and Michel Provot) and physiotherapists (Marc Pujo and Marc Saunier). What they have discovered is the extent of the stresses imposed on the human body by top-level motor racing.



Alain Prost in his McLaren: golf helps concentration.

Driven to the limit

By Jean-Yves Nau

This is an area where medical science is on virtually virgin territory. Almost no published work has been done on the subject; techniques are constantly changing; and the subjects of study form a very restricted group (30 drivers or so). The result is that a completely fresh medical eye is being cast on a very high-risk activity.

"It was long believed," says Dr Michel Provot, a rheumatologist by training, "that racing drivers were not true sportsmen at all. It's only in the first few years that they've begun to be regarded as top-flight sporting competitors, in other words as people who deserve to be given a proper medical back-up. The medical treatment they receive has to be all the more efficient because the performance of racing cars is being pushed to ever more sophisticated limits."

Anyone who doubts that racing drivers are athletes need only consider the exceptional physical and mental qualities required of someone at the wheel of a Formula One prototype, which is as radically different from an ordinary saloon car as Greg Lemond's bicycle is from a penny-farthing or a hobby-horse.

Most people are unaware of the extent and intensity of physical effort required by grand prix driving. According to Dr Provot, most muscular exertion involves the arms and forearms, because of the system of direct steering: "By the end of a race, the drivers are dripping with sweat; they can lose two to three kilos in an hour or two."

This results in considerable dehydration, which can have serious consequences. Many drivers, therefore, fix up a special bottle in their cockpit from which they can suck water during the race.

But physical exertion is not all. Drivers have to possess extraordinary powers of concentration and anticipation.

"It's no coincidence," says Dr Provot, "that Alain Prost, like quite a lot of racing drivers, plays golf between races. It helps him to develop his exceptional concentration." No one, I imagine, has bothered to find out the pulse rate of golfers. But it has been shown that drivers push their hearts to extremes with 180 to 190 beats a minute.

Everything is conditioned by the vehicle's speed at a given moment: the faster it goes, the more it hugs the ground and the stiffer the steering becomes. Equally, it gets harder and harder to counteract the centrifugal forces which, for example, pull the driver's head to the right when he takes a lefthand bend.

That is why it takes a driver several weeks to appreciate his car's possibilities. This process of apprenticeship, or, if you like, mutual breaking-in, means that it is out of the question for novices to be able to reach the front rank immediately.

Drivers have to put up with many unavoidable constraints, such as a very cramped cockpit, an uncomfortable driving position (with the legs stretched out and the torso slightly inclined, rather like the position of some hospital patients), and the cumulative effect of palpitations and micro-traumas in the lumbar and vertebral regions. There is also bumping against metal surfaces, which causes multiple bruising to the tibias and elbows.

Another factor — extraneous to the races themselves — is the whole environment surrounding racing drivers: athletes-cum-sandwich men, and often millionaires, they travel the world over, are subjected to gruelling car trials and advertising sessions, and, of course, risk their lives.

"Their apparent unflappability is deceptive," says Dr Provot. "A Formula One driver often has serious insomnia problems and needs to be given sleeping pills. He may also suffer from veritable anxiety attacks. Massage is a great help in this respect, and some drivers now insist on being regularly accompanied by their physiotherapists to all events."

But what exactly should the status of a doctor be in the motor racing context? What relationship should he have with the constructors? The deontology of this new branch of occupational medicine may soon turn out to be rather more complicated than had been suspected.

Dr Provot is quite clear about one thing: doctors should have no say in any decision taken by a driver. Their job is purely to make sure he has been properly understood. "And I'll tell you something: constructors are only minimally interested in their drivers and not at all in their doctors. Ideally, they would almost prefer their cars to be driven by robots."

(July 26)

Formula One motor racing is an activity that costs its sponsors a great deal of money. But it can also pay considerable dividends. Here, Bernard Lefort talks to François Guiter, promotion and marketing director of the oil company ELF-France with responsibility for sponsoring motor racing, about his company's 20 years or so in the business.

A 200mph advertising poster

ELF was formed almost 20 years ago, in April 1967. Why did the company get involved in motor racing from its very beginnings?

When I was put in charge of promoting the ELF brand, the aim was to set up a major French company that would immediately market a wide range of oil products. At the time, management wanted the company's technical know-how to act as a spearhead for the brand name.

We noticed that not only were our customers younger, but they included more city-dwellers, than the national average. Market research also showed that technical quality, in the eyes of that target group, was bound up with a motor racing image. So racing struck us as an excellent promotional vehicle.

In the mid-60s, France was pretty low down in the international motor-racing league, wasn't it?

Yes, apart from Alpine-Renault, there were virtually no French cars on the circuits. We scouted around for a partner, and chose Matra, which wasn't very well known at the time. We signed a four-year contract.

With what aim?

The first year, the idea was to continue the Matra programme and try to win the French Formula Three championship. We hoped to get a European Formula Two title in our second year. And in the third our aim was a World Championship victory. Part of our plan was to develop a French-designed engine and win the Le Mans 24-hour race. Some people thought we were being a bit overambitious.

Did you succeed?

Yes. We won the Formula Three championship with Henri Pescarolo the first year. In 1968, we got a European trophy in Formula Two. And in 1969 Jackie Stewart finally took a Matra-ELF car to victory in the Formula One World Championship.

Various constructors — Matra, Renault, Ligier and Lotus — have benefited successively from teaming up with ELF. How exactly did you help them?

In various ways. We organised schools and selected the best drivers. That's where Patrick Tambay, Didier Pironi and Alain Prost, among others, began their careers.

We worked on the development of new types of Formula Two chassis and engines, and, with the help of Renault, imposed turbos on the racing circuits. Most constructors have now adopted them.

Recently we introduced heavy fuels which provide the same amount of energy with 10 per cent less volume.

I can see that you aid motor racing in many different ways. But has such technological progress resulted in any spin-offs for the general public?

From a technical point of view, Renault were able to use their racing car experience to launch a range of turbo models; the aerodynamic design of cars has improved; the electronics have become part and parcel of ordinary saloon cars. We've also done some work on fuel saving.

And what about the marketing spin-offs from your investment as sponsors?

I don't much like the word sponsor. When we began, our main aim was to promote our products. When the ELF brand was first launched we had 4 per cent of the market. Now we have almost 25 per cent, which is a pretty good performance.

But we also hoped that our action in motor racing would increase awareness of our brand outside France.

In this respect we were helped by the worldwide growth and spread of television. Last year, there were 71,000 minutes of television broadcasts devoted to Formula One racing, which is probably more than the time devoted to the Olympic Games or the World Cup.

And the World Championship takes place every year. It's easy to see why the big oil companies such as Shell, Mobil and British Petroleum have moved back into motor racing.

(July 26)

Paris has had no "city gate" to speak of since its ring of fortifications was demolished in 1919. Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris and Prime Minister of France, has decided to change all that.

On July 24, he unveiled plans for two 50-metre-high constructions designed by Olivier-Clément Cacoub, which are due to be built at the Porte Maillot in the middle of the celebrated vista from the Arc de Triomphe to the La Défense business quarter on the western edge of Paris.

A private group of developers plans to build over a 1,200-metre stretch of the Boulevard Périphérique (the ring road that runs round Paris) between Place de Tassigny (at the bottom of Avenue Foch) and Porte des Ternes.

The developers wish to use the space gained in this way, combined with neighbouring parcels of land, to build a 400-room luxury hotel, the two monumental units forming the "gate", which will house an international trade centre, and a complex containing a 1,200-seat conference hall, an exhibition hall, and offices.

These facilities will complement those of the existing Palais des Congrès at the Porte Maillot, which can no longer meet current needs. It is planned to set aside three hectares for a sports ground, which will have to be moved from its present position, and for gardens constructed over the Boulevard Périphérique.

The developers believe that their outlay of 1,000 million francs (about £100 million) will be more than recovered by the sale of 125,000 square metres of offices, 2,000 parking places, and the luxury hotel's 4,000 square metres. The total cost of the operation is put at F2,800 million (£280 million). If work starts up in October 1988 as planned, the new Porte Maillot could be inaugurated in October 1990.

Chirac also announced that in a few weeks he would reveal plans for developing four other Paris gates, this time on the eastern side of the capital — Porte de Charenton, Porte de Bagnolet, Porte des Lilas and Porte de La Villette.

Here, Frédéric Edelmann puts forward his reservations about the Porte Maillot scheme.

Another 'carbuncle' on the face of Paris

By Frédéric Edelmann

JACQUES CHIRAC'S plans for Porte Maillot, and the manner of their announcement, seem to herald a return to the aesthetics and practices current in the 60s, and, by that token, the abandonment of a policy which, since the early 70s, had tended to promote architecture of genuine quality.

The Porte Maillot scheme is the first of its kind to be announced since last March's elections gave France a rightwing Prime Minister and a Socialist President. It demonstrates, in my view, that good architecture and "cohabitation" are incompatible. Cohabitation upsets one of the most firmly established principles of high-quality architectural patronage — and also one of the most debatable when used rashly or unimaginatively: the ukase.

Oddly enough, the announcement of the Porte Maillot scheme coincided with the death of the architect Fernand Pouillon, who, during his stormy career, got to know all about official patronage and learnt how best to exploit it.

Pouillon, who was briefly a Communist just after the last war, began his career in Marseilles, then moved to Paris, where his influential friends dropped him as soon as he ran into financial trouble. He designed buildings for the last of the French proconsuls in Algiers, then was converted to Islam. Later, his exile in North Africa was eased by large-scale government commissions. In the end, more or less forced to leave Algeria, Pouillon succeeded in falling on his feet when he returned to France.

He was one of those rare architects who combined political opportunism with a keen awareness of what his profession entailed (as can be seen from certain stylistic constants), an independence of mind that no one has ever presumed to deny, and, even more unusually, a talent which, although flawed, has today been recognised or rediscovered.

Opportunism has been a permanent feature of the French architectural Establishment. In its most persistent form, it has produced some of the most egregious mandarins in French history.

But in the immediate postwar period, which saw the rise of Pouillon before turning him into a scapegoat, there was a twofold phenomenon which was exacerbated by the requirements of rebuilding — architectural mediocrity and a lowering of standards in architectural schools on the one hand, and an extraordinary upsurge of financial interests on the other. They were together responsible for destroying more or less all manifestations of conscientiousness and refinement in the architectural profession.

It was at that time that Raymond Lopez's architectural office almost single-handedly laid down the areas of Paris that were to be assassinated — the 13th, 14th, 15th, 19th and 20th *arrondissements*.

After Lopez's death in 1966, the remaining sectors were carved up between his partners. That is how Paris came to be saddled with the "magnificent" new developments that now grace the area around Place d'Italie, parts of Belleville, and the riverside Front de Seine in the 15th *arrondissement*.

Far be it from me to imply that these good men were driven by mean-minded or dishonest motives. It was certainly with entirely clear consciences, bolstered by the friendship and trust of Paris councillors, that they perpetrated some of the greatest horrors in the history of architecture and town-planning. The only consolation, and a bitter one at that, is to be found in the fact that Brussels and, to a lesser extent, London fell victim to the same process.

When Valéry Giscard d'Estaing began his presidential term in 1974, it looked almost as though the government had suddenly become alive to the problem. There was talk of "architectural quality"; some schemes were shelved; the idea was to return to a "human scale", the best example of which was "our architectural heritage" (another rediscovery).

A new generation of architects, who had learned their craft properly and been toughened up by the Byzantine debates of the post-1968 period, came in. Work on site brought them into contact with reality without their losing the benefit of their theoretical grounding, and when the left came to power in 1981 they readily found commissions.

Thus, once it had been recognised that the architectural heritage should have an autonomous existence, there occurred a renaissance of architectural thinking and practice. In a few cases, the results did not quite work. But they were nothing compared with earlier disasters.

Moreover, we had just got used to all major schemes being subject to competitions (even if they were rigged), preliminary studies, consultations and public debate, which reintroduced a semblance of decency into the relationship between architect, politician and financier.

So does cohabitation mark a step backward? Jacques Chirac, who no doubt runs Paris well enough, has not often in the past shown any great discernment in architectural matters. Whether this is because of bad advice or lack of interest is hard to tell.

But in any case he showed he was easy to please when he plumped for the project that resulted in the present Les Halles complex, on the site of Paris's former central market. It is an aesthetic disaster that cannot be redeemed by Chemetov's tortuous yet ample and neat designs below ground. An aficionado of Paris's red belt, Chemetov has injected a fair dose of genuine architecture into the appalling hotchpotch of styles that now occupies the former heart of Paris.

After precipitously passing the death sentence on the former Halle aux Vins, Chirac produced his only architectural success in 1984 with the Palais Omni-Sport de Bercy, one of the few French designs to have gained approval abroad. Also worth mentioning, on a smaller scale, are the district conservatories of music designed by such architects as Portzampart and Pouillon.

The less said the better, however, about Chirac's silly and almost childish idea of asking the venerable Japanese architect, Kenzo Tange, to design an auditorium for the Place d'Italie (as though trying to ape not only Mitterrand's commissioning of Pei for the Grand Louvre but his organising of a competition for the Opéra de la Bastille). But at least the plans for the Place d'Italie, while not exactly new, were in a different class from what we can now look forward to on the Porte Maillot site.

When he was only Mayor of Paris, Chirac seemed satisfied with a moderate town-planning policy; and as regards architecture proper, he acted sometimes with indecision, sometimes with a kind of honest gaucherie. But he is now Prime Minister as well — and who do we see coming up fast after the first bend of the cohabitation stakes? None other than that outsider, Olivier-Clément Cacoub.

Cacoub has had his finger in more or less every pie, mostly in black African countries and in Tunisia and Morocco, but also in France (the Orléans-La Source university campus, Grenoble University's administrative offices and the extension of the original Palais des Festivals in Cannes).

Cacoub has been very prolific, producing anything from office blocks, hotels and ministries to stadiums, cemeteries and monuments of all kinds, which hover awkwardly between a bland international style (in the same sense as one can talk of bland international cuisine) and unbridled pastiche — a neo-French garden, a reminder of Omar's Mosque in Jerusalem, a Tahitian *faré* or an "Andalusian" palace, all in the most unlikely contexts.

Until recently Cacoub was little known within France. Then suddenly he appeared on the Paris scene: after various exports and associations had been struggling for years to ensure that François Blondel's Saint-Germain covered market would be mutilated as little as possible in the course of its renovation, Cacoub's solution — a flashy crown of tinted glass and concrete of the kind that has become outmoded even on the Côte d'Azur — was selected.

Work on the 17th-century market building has not started yet, but all those who fought tooth and nail, often against each other, for their idea of what should be done to the old market still turn green and glassy-eyed at any mention of Cacoub's monstrosity. The last time a piece of architecture caused such a collective bilious attack was when the Palais des Congrès was put up at the Porte Maillot.

And it is at another part of the Porte Maillot that Cacoub, like some latter-day Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, has been commissioned to design the first of Paris's five new city gates. His idea is to erect, on top of the Boulevard Périphérique, two symmetrical glass- and granite-faced buildings, one on either side of Avenue Charles-De-Gaulle, to which they are supposed to act as a gate.

They will look like a kind of semi-circular triumphal arch which has been cut in half and whose two sides have been eased apart to let through a stream of traffic. It is one of those "grand gestures" which Cacoub says he likes, and which were still greatly appreciated in the postwar years.

Cacoub's "gate", a French-style reinterpretation of American megastructures (in other words it possesses not a shred of grace, elegance or majesty), will be plonked down, American-style, bang in the middle of one of those well-balanced, grandiose axes produced by the genius of French town-planners.

As if seeking an excuse for this denial of national qualities and exaltation of national shortcomings, the planners tell us that the two-part complex will cover over the Boulevard Périphérique (which is no bad thing) and be financed by a Québécois property developer (so much the better).

But that is no excuse for Cacoub's thoroughly pre-1968 constructions, which look as friendly as a pair of pincers and as dynamic as two chunks of car tyre. Even the Palais des Congrès, in all its infinite platitude, was set back from the sweeping avenue that runs from the Musée du Louvre to La Défense via the Arc de Triomphe and the Porte Maillot.

It is the longest and most celebrated vista of its kind in the world, one of those successes that is as much due to the passage of time as to the hand of man, and which should not be tampered with before every conceivable precaution has been taken.

It is instructive to look at the way the designs for constructions at either end of the vista were selected. True, President Mitterrand's choice of Pei for the Grand Louvre project was a one-man decision — a ukase, if you like; but he did call on the services of one of the best-known architects in the world who had already shown his paces in equally tricky contexts.

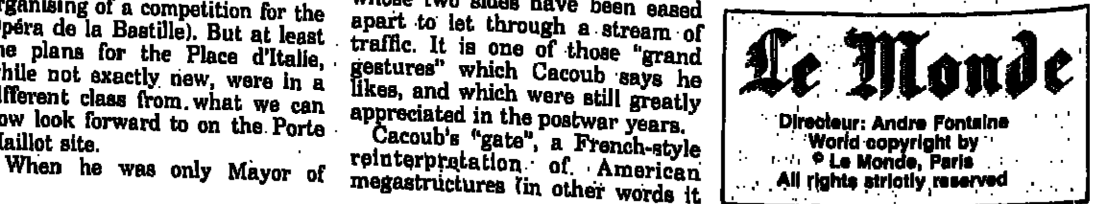
Mitterrand was making sure he got a design worthy of the Louvre. And the pyramid, the most contested part of the scheme, has not prevented a broad body of opinion coming out in favour of the Grand Louvre as a whole.

But the public will have to wait before being able to judge, as the Porte Maillot project could well see the light of day before the Grand Louvre, whose construction has been postponed by the present government.

The powers that be long vacillated over what to erect at the so-called Tête Défense, at the other end of the axis; and many a design was scrapped — wisely — before an international competition was finally organised. The jury chose the Spreckelsen project, which fortunately happens to be one of the most brilliantly imaginative designs to have emerged from a competition in recent years.

Should not the "city gate" which Jacques Chirac, in his twin decision-making capacity as mayor and Prime Minister, wishes to erect at the Porte Maillot between the Louvre and the Tête Défense be subjected to the same treatment? But then perhaps Chirac, in all sincerity, feels that there is not much to choose between modern architects anyway.

(August 1)



The Washington Post

It's Getting Late To Save S. Africa For The West

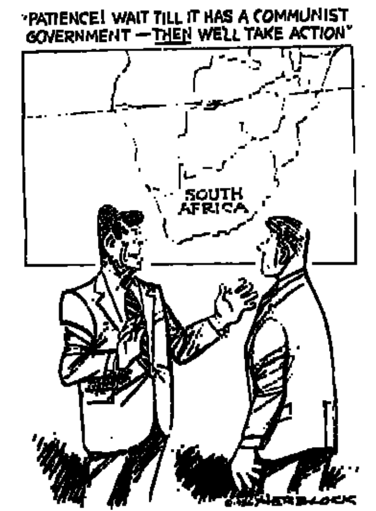
Charles Krauthammer

THE workings of the Senate calendar and poetic justice produced an exquisite coincidence of issues on Capitol Hill: Nicaragua and South Africa.

Some anti-Contra senators were threatening to filibuster the $100 million aid approved by the House and previously voted by the Senate. Most of these senators were caught in a box. They also wanted to pass sanctions against South Africa, but if they tied up the Senate over the Contras, they couldn't.

You picks your dictator, you takes your double standard. Yet only one double standard, the President's, has gotten much attention. The President says that democratizing Nicaragua is so important that, to help bring it about, one may impose sanctions that add to the burdens of Nicaragua's suffering people. But in South Africa, he says, the need to bring about democracy pales before the hardship that divestment would cause its suffering people.

"PATIENCE! WAIT TILL IT HAS A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT — THEN WE'LL TAKE ACTION"



What hasn't been pointed out is the equal illogic on the other side. Sens. Hart, Cranston, Kennedy and others, so mortified at the U.S. attempt to dictate the internal political structure of Nicaragua, are quite prepared to do a bit of dictating about the internal structure of South Africa. It would be fitting if the liberals' Nicaragua maneuver tied up their South African sanctions and left us with a policy of isolationism on two continents.

It would also be a pity. Sanctions won't do much good, but they will send a powerful message to South Africa's whites. The case for sanctions is essentially moral: to clear the American conscience of commercial association with apartheid, and to impress the Afrikaner conscience with the gesture.

Unfortunately, it is not much more than a gesture. A total U.S. ban on South African coal, iron, steel, fruits and vegetables (the big non-strategic items) would deprive South Africa of about 1.5 percent of its exports. Moreover disinvestment is already happening without sanctions, as capital, which knows no color, flees uncertainty.

The administration argument that sanctions are, to use Margaret Thatcher's words, immoral and repugnant is absurd. The only real case to be made against sanctions is strategic. Diamond Don Regan made the case in his ham-handed way: diamonds and chromium and platinum and manganese and sea lanes. South Africa has a pro-Western government, and if we destabilize it through sanctions, it might collapse and be followed by chaos (bad) or communism (worse).

The problem with this logic is that national consciousness and race consciousness among South African blacks are now too far advanced to be turned back. Foreign Minister Pik Botha recently said that a black President was probably inevitable. Once it is clear that white rule is finished — and if white South Africans have so decided, that leaves no one on Earth believing otherwise — the only remaining question is how to ensure (to what little extent we can) a non-catastrophic outcome. For our strategic purposes, that means a non-communist one.

Communism for South Africa is not a hypothetical issue. The other week in London, the South African Communist Party (SACP) threw itself a coming out party to celebrate its 65th anniversary. (*See last week's issue, page 9.*) It boasts a "precious and unique relationship" to the ANC, the most popular revolutionary organization in South Africa.

This is not self-flattery. Communist party chairman Joe Slovo is also the chief of the ANC military wing. The lowest estimate of SACP members on the ANC executive committee of 30, is 13. What will South Africa look like after the revolution? Such questions, says Slovo, "will be decided by the actual correlation of class forces which have come to power".

Don't we know. Which means that the main American diplomatic objective must be to bolster those South Africans who don't use phrases like "correlation of class forces" and will resist people who do.

How? Sanctions are emotionally and morally necessary, and may win us some points with nationalists, but they may already be beside the point. Market forces are delivering the real economic blows to South Africa. The key issue is contact and leverage. It is time to constructively engage the opposition, starting with moderates, like Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and including the ANC leadership.

One message should be to the non-communists among them: If you want our help both before and after the revolution, a less fraternal embrace of communists would be appreciated. George Shultz has said he is ready to talk to Oliver Tambo, the ANC President. The other week Shultz quietly authorized the first ambassador-level contact with the ANC in Lusaka.

It is not too late. We had a pretty bad record on the question of ties to Franco, Caetano and even Ian Smith. But neither Spain nor Portugal nor Zimbabwe took the road to Moscow.

But it is late. And there are only three political alternatives. That South Africa will become a Kenya (that chance probably passed 25 years ago), a Zimbabwe (a chance now passing us by), or an Ethiopia (a rising prospect).

Sanctions are a sideshow. They are a didactic, not a diplomatic, tool. Pass them, then get on with the real work in South Africa: talk.



Expediency Triumphs Over Principles

By Lou Cannon

ONE of President Reagan's favorite dictums, delivered in little lectures to his Cabinet and advisers, is that presidential decisions should be based on sound policy rather than politics. "I don't want any of you ever asking me to do something for political reasons," aides have quoted Reagan as telling them with a straight face.

By the usual political standards, Reagan does pretty well when measured by his test. His support for the Nicaraguan rebels and his opposition to South African sanctions, to name two issues, are based on convictions rather than polls. Even Reagan's adversaries recognize that he usually is a man of principle.

But election-year politics have a way of overcoming principles, and Reagan is not immune. Because Republican senators scared him into thinking that GOP control of the Senate is at stake, Reagan jettisoned policy for politics in ignoring the recommendations of his national security community by selling subsidized wheat to the Soviet Union.

Ironically, Reagan's largess to the nation he once called "the evil empire" comes at a time when the Soviet system is particularly vulnerable to economic pressure. The President knows this. The world collapse of oil prices has reduced revenues for the Soviets, and their perennially troubled agricultural economy is coming up short once again.

Only a few days after he agreed to sell four million tons of wheat to the Soviets at a subsidy of $13 a ton, the President was arguing that years of massive arms spending had made the Soviet Union an "economic basket case." Reagan suggested that a combination of Soviet economic conditions and concerns about his "Star Wars" missile-defense system have led Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the realization that an agreement reducing the superpowers' nuclear arsenals would be mutually beneficial.

Why then relieve the economic pressure on the Soviets at a critical time? Why infuriate Canada and Australia and create the conditions for what Secretary of State George Shultz calls "a subsidy war"? The answers to these questions are buried in farm-state political concerns, not in Reagan's catechism on the right way to reach presidential decisions.

"When you ask the senators from the farm states what their top three problems are, they reply agriculture, agriculture and agriculture," said a White House aide after the decision. Political surveys in these states do not necessarily support the view that the Soviet wheat sale will keep the Senate in Republican hands, but the fears expressed by Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) were enough to convince Reagan to ignore Shultz and his own best instincts.

White House spokesmen tried to justify Reagan's retreat from principle by observing that he had opposed President Carter's grain embargo against the Soviets in 1980 and lifted it in 1981. What they do not say is that Reagan's original decision to oppose the embargo was taken for crass political reasons.

After Carter imposed the grain embargo in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Reagan's inclination was to support it. But he was then involved in a hard-fought battle for the Republican presidential nomination. George Bush, his principal opponent in the Iowa caucuses, had come out against the embargo.

At a strategy session in Los Angeles early in January 1980, Reagan advisers stressed the importance of grain exports to Iowa farmers. Reagan at first resisted their point, then agreed to oppose the embargo. He lost Iowa anyway.

Bad decisions often lead to other bad decisions. As President, Reagan overrode the objections of his first Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, and lifted the embargo — on the political grounds that he had promised to do so during the campaign.

No doubt, as Shultz said, the Soviets are "chortling" that they pay less for American food than Americans do. No doubt they are confirmed in their ideological view that the profit motive they claim to despise has the power to prevail over U.S. national interest. The Soviets may indeed be an "economic basket case," as Reagan claimed. What he should have added is that he stands ready to fill the Soviet basket with cheap wheat paid for by American taxpayers.

Vote Expected To Influence Japan

By William Claiborne

JOHANNESBURG — Leading South African economists describe the U.S. Senate's overwhelming approval of toughened sanctions as another inevitible step in an anti-apartheid package thought to be coordinated with Japan and the European Community to undermine this country's economy.

While predicting that the government in Pretoria will find ways of circumventing many aspects of sanctions, they acknowledge that the Senate's approval of a halt to imports of South African coal could alter Japan's posture on sanctions, too.

The United States imports only a relatively modest 800,000 metric tons of South African coal annually. But Japan, which has indicated that it would follow the U.S. lead on sanctions, imports 9 million metric tons and European Community members buy 24 million more, representing 80 percent of South Africa's total coal exports.

The EEC is scheduled to meet in September to consider tougher sanctions as a measure against South Africa's apartheid policies. Mrs Thatcher, who opposed such sanctions at the Commonwealth meeting in London earlier this month, already has said that she would go along with sanctions against South African coal and steel.

"The most interesting question is whether there is any pre-cooked deal with the Germans, the French and the English for European Community sanctions," said Michael Spicer, international affairs adviser with the Anglo American Corp. of South Africa.

The Washington Post

Miss Bhutto Back In Gaol

BENAZIR BHUTTO has successfully baited the Pakistani government into jailing her for violating a brief ban on political rallies. That was a mistake on the government's part. Much better to free her and let her go back to addressing rallies.

Since Miss Bhutto's purpose is to depict the government as a brutal autocracy with no real intention of moving the country toward democracy, incarceration gives her an enormous tactical advantage. The opposition that she leads is now going to try to overthrow the government in a popular uprising like Corazon Aquino's post-election revolution in the Philippines. But a rising in Pakistan is very unlikely to follow the uplifting and peaceful pattern of the Philippines where the army, with hardly a shot fired, swung against the government. In Pakistan, the army is the government.

Until last December, Pakistan had lived for eight years under the military regime imposed by then-general, now president, Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, who overthrew and hanged Miss Bhutto's father. But at the turn of the year President Zia lifted martial law, appointed a civilian prime minister and began the cautious widening of freedom that permitted Miss Bhutto to return from her self-imposed exile and begin organizing the opposition.

The passage from military rule to democracy is always a perilous one. The question raised by the past week's events is whether Pakistan's progress toward parliamentary self-government is going to continue. That progress, you would have to say, has been at least temporarily interrupted, although there is no visible reason to believe that it has been reversed.

The United States has many interests in Pakistan, one of which certainly is political stability. The resistance to the Russian occupation of Afghanistan can continue only as long as the guerrillas have a secure base in Pakistan. But there is also a deep American interest in the evolution of a parliamentary democracy. Which of these interests comes first? The State Department indicated the proper inclination when it put out a statement Thursday, and repeated it Friday, regretting the deaths, the arrests and the limitations of freedom of movement. Pakistan faces obvious risks in proceeding toward democracy, but they are the right risks to take, and they are necessary.



Miss Benazir Bhutto on her way to police headquarters after her arrest.

Finding Markets For Wheat

THE FARMERS' distress is forcing President Reagan into an awkward straddle. He likes to disparage federal aid, as he did at his press conference last week in Chicago, and tell the farmers that their current troubles are largely the result of mismanaged attempts in the past to help them. But he goes on to promise the farmers, as he also did in Chicago, that "our commitment to helping them is unshakable."

The farmers' anxiety and the congressional response to it have focused on the sharp drop in American agricultural exports. But the basic patterns in the world's grain markets are being set by forces over which no government has much control. In the 1970s the rapid rise in standards of living throughout most of the world drove food consumption up rapidly. People began eating more meat, which pushed up the demand for grain to feed cattle. Farmers throughout the world raised production steadily. Then, around 1980, the growth of demand for food suddenly slowed.

In the developed world, governments were fighting inflation. In Latin America, the debt crisis forced drastic curtailment of imports. Throughout the world economic growth rates dropped. But farmers kept expanding their output, both in the exporting countries and in most of the countries to which they had been selling. The Soviet Union has been having its usual difficulties, but the Soviets have been more than offset elsewhere. In China, for one dramatic example, wheat production has risen 60 percent over the past five years.

For the United States, the peak in grain exports was in 1980-81. Since then, the trend has been down. One reason was the high exchange rate of the dollar. Another was the 1981 farm bill, which supported American farm prices at levels so high that the grain went unsold. Meanwhile, the European Common Market has been using lavish subsidies, in conspicuous violation of international trading rules, in its desperate efforts to dump its enormous surpluses abroad. The European subsidies have had the effect of pushing down world prices generally. The current American attempt to outsubsidize the Europeans will push them down even farther.

Consumption of food is still rising, but world grain exports have been flat for several years. As long as that continues, one country can increase its exports only at the expense of others. Four years ago the United States had nearly half of the world export market in wheat but currently, because of the too-high dollar and the too-high price supports, it has hardly more than one-fourth. It is now going to try to win back some of its lost customers but, in a world that produces more grain that it consumes, that's going to be slow and uncertain work.

Why Botha Went Into Reverse

By Allister Sparks

JOHANNESBURG — An undisclosed decision by the South African government to break off its dialogue on reforms with the western powers and face up to sanctions turned a rare special convention of the ruling National Party last week into a superfluous exercise, according to political analysts here.

When President Botha announced the special convention last January amid a blaze of publicity emphasizing his commitment to reform, it was billed as a watershed event at which delegates would endorse constitutional amendments giving the black majority a role in central government. But when the party delegates assembled in Durban there were no amendments for them to consider. Botha instead used the convention as a platform for defiance of sanctions and for drawing more clearly the bottom line beyond which his reform program is not to go. *(Report, page 7)*.

What happened, according to some informed political analysts, is that between the announcement and the holding of the convention, the government decided on a change of strategy that nullified the convention's original purpose. They say the government decided to abandon efforts that had been aimed at assuaging western critics and persuading them, in Botha's phrase, that Pretoria acknowledged apartheid to be "outdated" and was committed to moving away from it. The new priorities were to take a public stand against what was perceived as foreign interference and make a determined effort to crush continuing resistance in black townships.

"The whole political climate and context has changed," said Andre du Toit, professor of political philosophy at the Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch, which is considered close to government thinking. "There has been some backtracking on quite a few reform issues and a clear decision to back out of the whole framework of discussion with the Americans and other westerners that the government was engaged in at the beginning of the year."

He pinpointed the moment of decision as mid-May, when the government was engaged in discussions with a special Eminent Persons Group appointed by the Commonwealth to assess whether South Africa's claims to be dismantling apartheid were meaningful. The 49-nation alliance was seeking guidance on whether or not to impose sanctions.

Du Toit said those discussions convinced the Botha administration that it could never end the pressure through dialogue and concession. Each policy concession would be followed by a new demand, again backed by the threat of sanctions. "I think the Eminent Persons Group brought home to them that although they could play it out, there was no end to the process," du Toit said. "They felt they were being pressured into negotiating themselves out of power, so they decided to call a halt and face the threat of sanctions now."

There was a sudden growth of the Afrikaner far-rightist organizations at that time, and on May 22, as the Commonwealth group arrived in Cape Town for another round of talks, the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement rattled the government by breaking up a National Party rally in the northern city of Pietersburg.

Du Toit said this gave impetus to the decision. The far-rightist parties were accusing the government of being too compliant in its relations with foreign countries, and a major opinion poll published at the time showed that a growing number of Afrikaners, who are the backbone of the government's support, shared this view.

Another far-rightist charge, which seemed to unnerve Botha, was that the government was failing to end the persistent violence in black areas because it was hesitant to get really tough with the blacks for fear of upsetting the Americans and other outsiders.

Another leading Afrikaner political scientist, Hermann Giliomee, said key decisions were taken in mid-May not to release the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, nor to lift the ban outlawing the ANC, as the West was demanding.

Such decisions taken in the inner councils of South Africa's secretive government are seldom disclosed, but Giliomee said he has been told that the decision was taken by Botha, who felt that releasing Mandela — who has acquired a messianic image in the black community during his 24 years of incarceration — would be too risky. Once that was decided, other decisions flowed from it, Giliomee said, because Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC had become the focal point of Western pressure.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former opposition leader in the white-dominated Parliament who has been trying to garner support for the idea of negotiating with the ANC, said a significant segment of Botha's Cabinet had come round to his view by mid-May, but then the president ruled it out. He suggested Botha was swayed by the security chiefs, Defense Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Events bear this out. After an initial visit to South Africa last February, the Commonwealth group drafted a plan aimed at opening the way for the first direct negotiations between Pretoria and the ANC. The plan, which the State Department had indicated offered hope of a breakthrough, involved Pretoria agreeing to release Mandela and legalize the ANC, in return for its declaring a truce in its guerrilla struggle to overthrow apartheid and agreeing to negotiate.

Early in May, Foreign Minister R. F. (Pik) Botha, who is thought to be one of those who favors Mandela's release, sent a special envoy, Carl von Hirschberg, to London, reportedly to tell the Commonwealth group that South Africa was not opposed in principle to freeing the black nationalist leader and legalizing the ANC but wanted assurances of western backing if it had to act against resulting violence.

Apparently encouraged, the group returned to South Africa to meet Pik Botha on May 13. As some recounted afterward, he arrived late, apparently delayed by a long Cabinet meeting which presumably was taking its decision on Mandela. He seemed distressed and accused the group of causing difficulties for South Africa.

President Botha did not see the Commonwealth members. Instead they were advised to attend a speech, in which the president slammed the "unsolicited interference" of "meddling groups visiting the country."

Four days later, after a brief visit to the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, and just 30 minutes before they were due to meet with key members of Botha's Cabinet in Cape Town, the group was told that South Africa had just launched a series of commando raids on ANC facilities in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The mission in ruins, the group returned to London that night and prepared a negative report that led to the Commonwealth accepting a sanctions package and helped influence last week's 84-14 vote in favor of expanded sanctions in the U.S. Senate.

Soon afterward, the government's information bureau issued a heavily publicized booklet labeling the ANC and Mandela as communists and making it clear that there was no chance of Pretoria agreeing to negotiate with them.

Two weeks later, President Botha declared a general state of emergency and his security forces began rounding up an estimated 10,000 political detainees, most of them black. In a tough speech to Parliament that day, Botha spelled out his rejection of the western initiatives and his readiness to face sanctions.

Declaring that South Africa was prepared to "go it alone," the president said: "South Africans will not allow themselves to be humiliated in order to prevent sanctions. If we have to be dependent on our own Creator and our own ability alone, then I say let it be."

There remained one more event to underscore the South African decision. Although the writing was on the wall, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in a bid to deflect pressure for sanctions from her Commonwealth and European Community partners, sent Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe to South Africa for a final attempt at persuasion.

The mild-mannered Howe was given a public brushoff. Botha called a press conference to accuse Howe of trying to strong-arm South Africa into releasing Mandela unconditionally and unban the ANC.

"I can never commit suicide by accepting threats and prescriptions from outside forces and handing South Africa over to communist forces in disguise," Botha said.

Then came last week's special convention of the National Party, by now a dead letter as an occasion for convincing western leaders of South Africa's commitment to dismantling apartheid and ending white-minority rule. It became an occasion for firing up the followers to face the sanctions instead.

The party leaders still proclaimed their commitment to reforms. But in laying down the guidelines, the convention set as a basic principle the concept of "group self-determination." That means the different race groups, living in their own areas and going to segregated schools, would as far as possible administer their affairs through their own political institutions.

Other institutions also are to be established where representatives from all the race groups can come together to discuss matters of common concern. The whites would dominate these institutions and decisions must be reached by consensus, which means the whites could veto changes judged too drastic.

Botha spoke of black townships like Soweto possibly being given the status of city-states, which could become nominally independent. In effect, this would extend the policy of rural "homelands" for blacks to the cities.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis talked of establishing a Council of State, which Botha likened to the European Parliament. They gave no details, but this is presumably where the black majority is to exercise its central government rights.

None of it means an abandonment of white-minority control. Apartheid is being reshaped, but its fundamentals remain. Engagement with the West was threatening those fundamentals.

The Reality Of The New Nicaraguans

By Joanne Omang

MANAGUA — Julio Castillo, an exemplary product of Nicaraguan revolutionary education, leaves next month for six years in the Soviet Union. To him, this is a reward for his achievements, and will be his ticket to leadership through civil engineering in building a new Nicaragua.

Castillo, 22, was a courier for older Sandinista rebels as they overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. After seven years of postrevolutionary high school and military training, he is probably as close as any Nicaraguan youth to the leftist Sandinista government's ideal of "the New Nicaraguan": class-conscious, socially involved and devoted to the defense of a Sandinista future.

The term is an echo of the "New Soviet Man" envisaged for generations by Soviet propagandists. In the textbooks, group activities and media messages that have shaped this new person, the U.S. government is the source of most of the trauma in Nicaragua's past, all of its present suffering and much of the misery of the world's poor. Work is noble, the poor are to be helped and honored, and the Sandinistas are national saviors, embattled in a military struggle for Nicaragua's future against the marauding Yankee.

Young people who fervently espouse this line are still a minority, but there is no doubt that their number is increasing. As a result, the Sandinista revolution is slowly consolidating a socialist-oriented future, even as U.S.-backed rebels are poised to escalate their assaults. "We waited too long" in trying to oust the Sandinistas from power, said one U.S. official in the region.

> ***'The Sandinista revolution is slowly consolidating a socialist-oriented future, even as US-backed rebels are poised to escalate their assaults. "We waited too long" in trying to oust the Sandinistas from power, said one U.S. official in the region.'***

Half of Nicaragua's 3 million people are 16 or younger, and most only dimly remember the Somoza era. Education Minister Fernando Cardenal said in an interview that in those days, education promoted consumption, greed and self-advancement, and reached only a small number of relatively privileged Nicaraguans. Now one in three Nicaraguans is either a child attending one of the 1,400 schools the Sandinistas built in their first five years, or an adult taking night courses, according to the ministry.

"The whole revolution is educational," Cardenal said. "We are trying to create men and women with a sense of justice, brotherhood and self-sacrifice for other people and for society. . . . We are trying to close existing class divisions."

The terminology and the method are drawn from Soviet-bloc models, but Nicaragua's version is its own. The shattered economy makes desks and books scarce and a typewriter a luxury. Students and adults abandon classes for the harvest or second jobs, while underpaid and badly trained teachers often do not show up after working full time elsewhere.

The theory of a new Nicaraguan does not square with the black market, loose laws and smuggling that keep Nicaragua afloat. A devoutly Catholic tradition and an American-oriented culture of blue jeans, Coca-Cola, rock music and baseball also tend to undermine socialist asceticism. "You can get anything here if you have money," a 17-year-old youth at an expensive discotheque said smugly.

Still, a second-grader asked to sing a school song for an American visiting Granada, 30 miles southeast of Managua, happily offered the official Sandinista hymn, including the line that translates, "We will fight the Yankees, enemies of humanity."

Julio Castillo, son of a taxi driver and grandson of a chauffeur, is a beneficiary of the drive for a New Man, the first of his family to finish high school. A thousand like him will receive scholarships to a Soviet-bloc nation this year. He is glad the new schooling is political. "I hadn't understood before how important it is for youth to take part in helping the country," he said.

Within two weeks of taking power, the Sandinistas mustered 60,000 student volunteers, including Julio, to teach Nicaragua's peasants how to read and write. At 15, Julio spent six months sleeping in a hammock and eating little besides beans as he gave reading lessons in the isolated jungle of Zelaya province.

Other students who asked not to be named said they went in fear they would lose academic credit if they did not. "It was totally useless. We didn't know how to teach and the campesinos were suspicious," said one young woman who also went to Zelaya.

The ministry claims the illiteracy rate dropped from 53 percent to less than 15 percent, but officials acknowledged that many peasants learned little and retained little of what they did learn. The officials assert, however, and critics agree, that the experience was a political triumph: the peasants had what was probably their first pleasant government contact, and students observed extreme poverty and did real work, many for the first time.

Some, like Julio, loved the program and joined the Sandinista Youth organization that had helped set it up "to take part in the revolution in a well-organized way," he said. The Sandinista Youth, 14 to 27 years of age, are the revolution's chief tool and energy source. In factories, they hold meetings to discuss production and problems, and at school they organize study halls and beach trips as well as rallies.

Critics charge that they are also the leaders of the *turbas divinas*, or divine mobs, that harass opposition leaders. They say the Sandinista Youth get college scholarships before non-members, and that men can avoid the front lines during their compulsory military service.

Sandinista Youth director Carlos Hurtado said the charges were false, "an effort to demean the revolution." He claimed a nationwide voluntary membership of 55,000 militants and many more "affiliates," a third higher than critics' estimates.

On July 23, several thousand youths turned out in Leon, 55 miles northwest of Managua, to honor the memory of four students slain by Somoza troops in 1959. After speeches, they paraded in homemade costumes parodying Uncle Sam and his "puppet" rebels and priests.

The Sandinista Youth's monthly magazine, Los Muchachos (The Kids), will record the event, Hurtado said. A recent issue featured well-written articles on Stevie Wonder, masturbation, baseball, a demobilized soldier adjusting to civilian life, and a picture of a Bulgarian woman in a string bikini. "Ho Chi Minh says the best a country has is its youth," the caption said.

One 17-year-old who asked not to be identified is not a New Nicaraguan. By her own description, she is an apathetic second-year student at a small Catholic high school near her home in a poorer part of the city than Julio's. "Before the revolution, we just went to class. Now there are a pile of organizations and we go to meetings and projects all the time instead of studying," she said.

Parents and teachers questioned often complained that frequent rallies and poor teaching have ravaged academic quality. "My fourth-grade nephew could not spell 'casa' (house), but he could spell 'Sandino,'" reported a teacher in Niquinohomo, the village birthplace of Augusto Sandino, the 1920s nationalist namesake of the Sandinista revolution, 18 miles south of Managua.

Even apathetic high school students are automatically members of the Federation of Secondary School Students (FES by its Spanish initials). Leaders of both groups report directly to Bayardo Arce, political director of the Sandinista governing directorate.

Outgoing Managua FES president Maria Ramirez, 19, daughter of Nicaragua's Vice President Sergio Ramirez, explained the consciousness-raising technique: "In one high school there were 1,000 students sitting on the floor because they had no desks," she said. "Instead of writing letters complaining, we built desks . . . painted the place and planted bushes. Besides being necessary this is a very good education," she continued. "When a student paints the wall, he is not going to put his feet on it."

This creative use of the chaotic Nicaraguan economy is called "education in poverty" by Sandinista officials. "We supply teachers, books, a workbook and a pencil for each child," Cardenal said. "The community builds and maintains the school," often housing and feeding the teachers as well. Cuba sent 2,000 teachers who stayed for three years.

The Sandinistas have replaced all textbooks through grade four with their own texts, printed in East Germany. Most U.S.-donated texts for upper grades have vanished, and books in use from other nations are widely reproduced and shared among several students.

The new books are selectively political. One upper-level photocopied "History of the Sandinista Revolution" treats legendary military leader Eden ("Comandante Zero") Pastora, who turned against the Sandinistas, as a real zero, ignoring his leadership of the pivotal taking of the Somoza congress in 1979. Cardenal said the text was an unauthorized draft and called the omission a mistake.

"We will describe history as it was," he said. "Truth is the language of the Sandinista revolution."

Historical truth also justifies emphasis on militarism and on U.S. aggression, Cardenal said. In the first-grade reader, the letter F was illustrated with a fusil, a rifle; GU with guerra, war, and guerrilla; and Q with Yanqui, Yankee. "Sandino fought the Yankees. The Yankees always will be defeated in our country," it said.

Where a U.S. math text might ask a child to add apples and oranges bought at a store, the Sandinista text asks the sum of chickens hatched at two cooperatives. One lesson asks the child to count the number of rifles and grenades pictured.

"This is preparation for a child to accept war as perfectly natural," said Virgilio Godoy, president of the opposition Liberal Independent Party and a former Sandinista Cabinet member. "The only reality is the struggle against capitalism that is exploitative and discriminatory, and that the revolution is equality, happiness and so on."

Cardenal countered that the United States had invaded Nicaragua a dozen times and that children saw armed soldiers every day. "To hide that reality would be to delude the child," he said.

Until recently, church-run schools often ignored some Sandinista directives and inserted religious content. "Religion is part of the historical truth as well,"

Continued on page 18

Young Soldiers Fade Away

Philip Geyelin

BRUSSELS — You begin to think you've got a grip on the nuts and bolts of strategic planning at the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Then, a West German official blindsides you with the introduction of yet one more threat to the balance of forces on Europe's Central Front: the "Pillen-Knick."

You think instantly of some new, smart bomb. But this bombshell is demographic. "Pillen-Knick" is German shorthand for the certain prospect of a drastic decline in draft-eligible West Germans, owing to the introduction and acceptance of birth-control pills in West Germany roughly 20 years ago.

Already, there is evidence of the potential impact: the tours of duty for West German draftees will be extended from 15 months to 18 months. This is not the sort of thing a prudent government does without strong reasons, the more so with general elections only five months away.

For now, the solidly pro-NATO government of Chancelor Helmut Kohl seems a safe bet to survive January's electoral test. But that may only postpone the day of reckoning with the Social Democrats, whose policies would make West Germany a somewhat less sturdy keystone of Western European defenses.

In any event, the political repercussions from the "Pillen-Knick," to say nothing of the strategic implications, are beginning to show and the root cause of the problem is irreversible. There is not a lot you can do, effectively, about a 20-year drop in the birth-rate.

Result: West Germany is staring at a 50 percent drop in the pool of available 18-year-olds just 10 years from now. By 1989, the annual crop of 18-year-olds will fall below the number (250,000) needed to maintain current force levels. By 1994, the supply will have sunk to 153,000, according to projections.

That will require a further stretching of the duty tours; it may also require expanding the call-ups of reserves. Either prospect plays powerfully into the hands of a political opposition with strong neutralist tendencies and of a "peace movement" ever ready to pick up on popular discontent with the burden imposed by NATO membership.

This unsettling prospect becomes all the more so when you consider that West Germany furnishes about half of the alliance ground forces manning the Central Front. The United States, which accounts for nearly one-third, has it own version of the "baby crash."

According to figures available here, the 18-year-old slice of the U.S. population will decline from 3.8 million in 1985 to 3.2 million in 1995, leaving some analysts to conclude that the American volunteer force will also have to be raised from a smaller manpower pool.

So there you have it. The facts of political, economic, as well as biological life rudely intruding on the grand design of those — Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Democratic front-runner Gary Hart, for example — who would reorder NATO deployments by drawing down on the U.S. commitment of ground forces, with the Europeans taking up the slack. The United States would increasingly limit itself to an air and sea role, thus freeing up American forces now in Europe to meet global security obligations.

The Pacific Basin, it is said, will need more attention. The threat of an outbreak of World War III in Europe, which some say has receded, must be increasingly Europe's problem. Why can't the Europeans, with an aggregate economic base far stronger than that of the Soviets and at least the equal of ours, be more like us?

But that's exactly the point. By and large, our NATO partners are just like us. That is to say they are independent nations with their own cultural identity and their own reluctance to surrender sovereignty. Our NATO partners are peopled by creatures of habit who resist, as Americans tend to, any sharp departures from whatever they are accustomed to: a certain standard of living, for example, familiar social-welfare safety nets, and the psychological security of having a fixed number of U.S. troops on the scene. It is only in this sense that the existing number of U.S. troops in Europe (somewhere in excess of 300,000) is held to be sacrosanct.

So it is all very well to predicate a new alliance relationship on a European obligation to do more on its own behalf. But "Pillen-Knick" is compelling evidence of how difficult it is to get people in a free society to conduct their lives according to the security interests of the state. The Soviets would have their own harsh way of dealing with the problem, just as the People's Republic of China has its way of dealing with just the opposite demographic problem.

But the West Germans must deal with it by imposing an added burden on their young citizens — and then subjecting themselves, and that unpopular proposition, to a popular vote. That's a distinction that argues for careful handling when we address the question of how best to redistribute the burden of defending a conglomeration of democracies.

This becomes all the more important when Americans, who have long since rid themselves of military conscription, tell the West Germans that, by some arbitrary number, they are not doing their fair share. It's the distinction, you might even say, that NATO is all about.

THE CHARACTER FACTORY Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement. By Michael Rosenthal. Pantheon. 335pp. $22.95.

"And then, who should I see, wandering along the Soho thoroughfare, but the Kid-from-Outer Space, who doesn't know that is his name, I haven't told him so. This kid, who is extremely nice and that, and who I know from schooldays and even from the Baden-Powell contraption, belongs entirely to the Other World . . . 'What knot would you use,' I said, coming up beside him, and speaking from the corner of the mouth into his ear, 'to tie two ropes of unequal thickness, supposing you had two such ropes, and wanted to join the pair of them together?'

" 'Oh-ho, it's you, boy Mowgli,' said this Outer-Space creation . . ."

— From "Absolute Beginners," by Colin MacInnes



Portrait of the founder at the opening of Baden-Powell House in London, 1961.

Scout's Honor

By Christopher Hitchens

AT ANY TIME in the last two generations, the response of the average British youth to any mention of the scout movement would have been similarly flippant (though it's an unusally nice coincidence to find MacInnes's narrator referring to Rosenthal's "factory" as a "contraption"). Since the war, Baden-Powell's short-trousered legions have been a matter *pour rire*, their Kiplingesque lore and their interest in woodcraft at hopeless odds with the wised-up aspirations of "modern" youth. Meanwhile, a staple of the English Sunday became the revelation, in the less expensive tabloid newspapers, of yet another scoutmaster who was not as other men. ("He turned back to the pages of the *News of the World* and said 'Another naughty scoutmaster'." Thus Sebastian Flyte to Charles Ryder on a drowsy day at Brideshead Castle.)

But as Michael Rosenthal shows in this diverting and meticulous book, there was a time when Baden-Powell (or "B-P") was more famous, and arguably more influential, than any political party leader. He was a born organizer and propagandist, with a tremendous flair for publicity. And he was able to provide a worried imperial authority with precisely what it needed most — moral reassurance. Though it was led by the upper- and upper-middle class, his movement had a very strong cross-class appeal. George Orwell wrote with despair of the failure of the English left to evolve anything with comparable *esprit de corps*. Slum children who had never seen the countryside were taken into an adventurous outdoor brotherhood, warned against smoking, given good character-references for employers, weaned off petty crime — filled to the brim with jingoism.

You may think that you know about Baden-Powell and his "old fashioned" ideas about "lesser breeds without the law." But Michael Rosenthal has unearthed an astounding trove of detail. I had not appreciated, for example, the extent of B-P's antipathy towards Jews. He even drew Streicher-type cartoons for the Boy Scout paper, and mixed anti-Semitism into the rich compost of his general theory of eugenics. The white races were born to rule, the colored races understood only the language of force, and there was a continual necessity to guard against mongrelization and the ideas of internationalism. Together with men like Rider Haggard and Sir William Evans-Gordon, B-P took part in quite frightening things like the Commission on Youth and the Race, which urged purity of stock and constant state of military readiness.

It's not surprising, then, to find that Baden-Powell was quite captivated by fascism in the 1930s. As he wrote: "Dictators in Germany and Italy have done wonders in resuscitating their peoples to stand as nations. They have recognised that mere scholastic education is not enough for building up a manhood at once efficient, healthy and patriotic — i.e., a *strong nation*. Mussolini told me he had found Italians a divided people and that the only way to make them a united whole was to get hold of the youth, from 8 years old to 22 . . ."

Baden-Powell was not ashamed to claim that the Hilter Youth, too, was founded on Boy Scout principles. When asked to protest at the incarceration of a German youth leader in a concentration camp, B-P replied, "The man whom you quoted as sent to prison . . . was sent there, not for international tendencies, but for homosexual tendencies!"

Homosexual tendencies, eh? Years of unkind scoutmaster jokes have made me wary of this subject, but Rosenthal's book is both fair-minded and revealing on the point. Baden-Powell sacrificed the world of women to his military ambitions, and only married late in life to please his mother. His most emotional relationship was with a well-made youth named Kenneth McLaren, who served in the 13th Hussars and was known always as "The Boy." When "The Boy" was wounded and captured by the Boers during the siege of Mafeking, Baden-Powell went into a paroxysm that would not have disgraced Walt Whitman or Wilfred Owen. He was all for dashing into the Boer lines himself, but had to be content with sending creature comforts under a flag of truce. "The Boy" later became a co-founder of the movement which in some questionably subliminal sense bears his name. I have always felt a little queasy when elderly militaristic politicians refer sobbingly to soldiers as "Our Boys," and Rosenthal has amply confirmed me in this queasiness.

It would have been easy enough to write a sniggering revisionist book about B-P, from the standpoint of what we are pleased to call a more enlightened age. Rosenthal has resisted (I almost wrote "manfully") this temptation. He writes with an historian's sense of the context, and shows the utility of scout ideology to an Empire increasingly beset with self-doubt. There was, amid all the bogus and hateful stuff about blood and soil, a certain idea of chivalry in "the Baden-Powell contraption." Even as I turned these pages in occasional horror, I could recall the precepts of *The Jungle Book* and the injunction to do a good deed every day (not to mention the tyrannical and ruinous war on the baser self that was waged through the campaign against self-abuse). As for the question about which knot to use in uniting ropes of different thicknesses, I can still do that in my sleep. It's a cinch, which is to say a sheepshank.

Christopher Hitchens is a columnist for The Nation, The Spectator, and The Times Literary Supplement.

The Reality Of The New Nicaraguans

Continued from page 17

said the Rev. Uriel Reyes, spokesman for the Managua archdiocese.

But after urging parents in May 1985 to keep an eye on their children's education, Christian School Parents' Association head Sofonias Cisneros was dragged from his office by young turbas, beaten and stripped naked to walk home.

Now each school has semi-resident inspectors who visit classes and make sure the Sandinista curriculum is followed, Reyes said, although Catholic schools may offer two hours a week of religious instruction outside of regular classes.

Sandinista Youth director Hurtado said there is no contradiction in the New Nicaraguan who likes baseball and wears jeans to the disco. "We can't have extraterrestrial beings, but people of flesh and blood who love and eat and play," he said. "We are idealistic, but we have a long way to go yet. . . . The New Man is a goal we will not achieve in seven years nor in seven years more, but over a lifetime."

George F. Will

Stylist Of The Sports Page

NEWSPAPERS drop by our homes every day, generally at breakfast, when anything other than a velvety voice is jarring. Newspapers are, however, by their natures, brusque and businesslike and, given the nature of the world they report, bruising to our spirits. But newspapers should not be severely free of ornaments that improve the scenery of life. One such was Red Smith, the subject of a new biography by Ira Berkow.

What are we missing, we who miss that sports columnist whenever we open a newspaper? This, for example: "Society Kid Hogan was hurrying through the Illinois Central pedestrian tunnel under Michigan Avenue on June 9, 1930, when a man in the crowd put a gun to the head of Jake Lingle, a grafting crime reporter, and it went blooie.

"The Kid kept right on walking.

"'Why?' the Law asked him later.

"'The last train was leaving for the racetrack,' he said reasonably.

"'Did you see the killers,' they asked.

"'Sure.'

"'Could you identify him?'

"The Kid drew a hand across the knot in his flashy necktie.

"'Only up to here,' he said."

That could have been written by Damon Runyon, or Mark Twain. It could only have been written by an American, marinated in this nation's distinctive broad-brush drollery. Smith heard Americanisms spoken on the playgrounds where he worked, as when he asked Pepper Martin how he learned to run so well: "Well, sir, I grew up in Oklahoma and once you start runnin' out there, there ain't nothing to stop you." When Smith asked Early Wynn, a roughneck pitcher, if he ever deliberately threw at a batter's head, Wynn mentioned a .230 hitter who cut open Wynn's chin with a line drive: "The pitcher's mound is my office and I don t like office messed up with a lot of blood."

Listen to such talk long enough and the dry tang will seep into your style as it did into Smith's. He explained that Paul Waner's eyesight was so bad when he was hitting about .350 for the Pirates, he could not read from the bench the advertisements on the outfield fences. Smith said Waner gave the matter no thought, "for in his philosophy fences were targets, not literature."

On a throne at the center of a sense of humor sits a capacity for irony. All wit rests on a cheerful awareness of life's incongruities. It is a gentling awareness, and no politician without it should be allowed near power. Smith had it but was interested in laughter, not power. He was an American P.G. Wodehouse. Wodehouse, like Smith, was a souffle chef of light literature. His prose was flawless and he had an almost pristine absence of solemnity in the employment of it. Smith, unlike Wodehouse, was capable of seriousness, even anger. But not for long.

Berkow's book is a study of craftsmanship, always a commodity in short supply. A biography of a writer succeeds if it sends readers scurrying off to the writer's books. Even people utterly uninterested in sports should sample Smith. Do you care about rodeos? Neither do I. But I believe that any good use of the English language is good for the soul, and that this opening sentence of a Smith column should be put in front of all fledgling writers:

"C. E. Feeke Tooke, born in Redfield, South Dakota, fifty-nine years ago but dragged up on a homestead outside Ekalaka, Montana, was having the very hell of a time with the showy palomino between his knees, but he wore a grin that lit up the corners of Oklahoma City's Fairgrounds Arena."

Smith, says Berkow, suited America's mood in the late 1940s, when the nation wanted to catch up on missed fun. Smith's syndicated column prospered then. Smith, says Berkow, wrote the way Smith said Pete Rose plays baseball, with "an almost lascivious enthusiasm." The columns about Society Kid Hogan and C. E. Feeke Tooke were obituaries and were included in a book ("To Absent Friends") composed entirely of farewells. Melancholy reading? Hardly.

"Bill Alexander (coach at Georgia Tech) was a gallant gentleman and an intractable fighter for the football player's inalienable right to sign checks with an X. If a good defensive tackle wished to carry a book under his arm when he strolled the campus, Bill did not offer serious objections, although he disliked ostentation. He was, however, unalterably opposed to eyestrain."

Journalism is generally perishable stuff, but if you can find Smith's books, you will constantly bump into sentences that begin like this: "Three winters ago purity, like a worm in the bud, was making inroads into college football. . . . " I never met Smith, who died in 1982, but I imagine he laughed in 1962 when he wrote that sentence about purity, just as I laughed when I read it 24 years later. To live on, as Smith does, in transmitted laughter is a tolerable approximation of immortality.

Up hill, down dale, and worlds apart

By Geoffrey Taylor

Litton Dale — picture by Denis Thorpe.

THE Yorkshire Dales do not form the tidy geographical unit which the boundaries of the National Park superficially impose on them.

On the map they can be made to look like a self-contained stretch of the Pennines. Indeed geologically, I am told, they are, with the predominant rocks, limestone, sandstone, and millstone grit, alternating with each other to produce landscapes which, though different in every dale, have a family resemblance.

On a visit it is different. Wensleydale, Swaledale, Dentdale —they all look equally accessible by car. In two or three days it is possible to cover the whole area. On foot there are paths and drovers' roads which criss-cross the dales and give them a unified appearance. But living here puts them in a quite different perspective. At least it does today. It is probable that in former epochs the economics dictated closer links between the dales.

There were obvious differences of terrain and agriculture between this area and, say, the Vale of York to the east. The monasteries and noble houses like the Cliffords, owned large tracts of ground and imposed similarities between one dale and another. But although landlords like the Devonshires survive, the pattern of communication is different.

The dale where I live branches off from Upper Wharfedale, supplying its own tributory to the Wharfe itself, and thence to the Ouse and the Humber. Upper Wharfedale, from Grassington to Kettlewell and up to Buckden, is referred to locally as "the other dale." The village of Hubberholme, where J. B. Priestley's ashes were recently buried (and which he oddly described as "one of the smallest and pleasantest places in the world"), is the last of any size before you start the steep climb out of Wharfedale, and over the top into Hawes and Wensleydale. In a straight line it is little over three miles from Halton Gill, the village at the top of Hubberholme, and indeed the parson on horseback used to conduct one service in each church on a Sunday. By road it is 15 miles.

Gamekeepers, farmers gathering sheep, and energetic walkers see both dales at the same time. The rest of us tend to gaze upwards towards the green, brown and grey skyline separating them. Every autumn the farmers will congregate at Hawes, at the head of Wensleydale, for the tup (ram) sales, when tups will change hands for several thousand pounds, and from August to late October the keepers will visit one another's grouse shoots. Beyond that there is little intercourse between the dales.

I have been to Wensleydale three times but to Swaledale and Dentdale, say, not at all in the past seven years. I sometimes go to Ribblesdale to shop at Settle, a genuine little town 13 miles away along a winding road past Pen Y Ghent hill, usually closed for much of the winter. But that is about the limit of local travel.

Nowadays the gamekeepers and the farmers have become fewer and the rest of us more. On a gloomy view, that process is bound to continue. Of the 22 houses in the village, four are still working farms, though within recent memory there are seven. The resident population is 45. When Baines published his register of Yorkshire in 1822, it was 102, and in addition to farmers they included three gentlemen, a blacksmith, a grocer, a cabinet-maker, and a shoemaker.

Today, five of the houses are holiday homes, one is in part-time occupation, and the demographic change, as it is euphemistically called, has brought into the village at least six households which earn their living outside the dale. They include an Oxford don and two other university professors, two company directors and me.

The last vestiges of a grocer's shop disappeared a month ago when my wife, who runs the post office, found that the "sell-by" dates imposed by the EEC were producing a net loss as well as an abominable clutter in the cottage, and gave up that side of the business. There are now no food shops within ten miles.

In spite of all this, the dale retains its identity and the village hall, newly rebuilt, is in constant use. You can judge a lot by the newspapers people read. Occasionally when the regular man is off, I collect them from ten miles away for local distribution. About 90 per cent of the dale takes the Yorkshire Post, with three or four Guardians, two or three Telegraphs, two Times (including mine) and one Daily Mail. There may be the odd Sun, but not many other tabloids. Everyone takes and relies on the weekly Craven Herald.

As I write, it is clipping time. Having been dosed (pronounced dozed) against their various infections, the sheep are being fleeced: beautiful fleeces, some of them. The dale, the surrounding hills, and the conversation are all dominated by sheep: either Dalesbred or Swaledales but increasingly a cross-breed with Suffolks which produces a fatter lamb.

An economist would go into the sheep market more closely. None of the farmers could afford to live here without the upland sheep subsidy. It is that, and that alone I think, which keeps the dales in occupation by the people who really belong here and ensures that the entire population is not made up of computer programmers, university lecturers and journalists. If the EEC has put an end to our grocery trade, it has maintained the outward appearance of the dales, for without its solicitude for hill farmers it must be doubtful whether the sheep would get by on market forces alone.

Competition is already increasing sharply as lowland farmers, sensing no future in cereals, change to the sheep which they can fatten far more profitably than on these sparse pastures.

But we are safe for a decade or two, and as long as national parks policy remains as it is, the dales will remain open and largely empty for visitors to enjoy. That is what their rugged landscapes, and their rich and varied limestone flora, demand I said flora because it is hard to imagine much unusual fauna settling here. The RAF uses this dale for practice runs with its fighter-interceptors, travelling at 500 miles an hour and 200 feet. It is not the environment to which the golden eagle, which gave its name to Arncliffe, is ever likely to return. Peregrines, yes; they nest on a rock face down the dale. Most other species are scared off. So, sometimes are the sheep, and so am I.

The deepest cause for regret is that the dales have become self-conscious. Publicity officers are springing up in every town and district and holiday cottage rental — I almost said racket — is enjoying a boom. The ironmonger is giving way to the antique shop and the draper to the boutique. Grassington is crowded out with coach-loads and in Kettlewell, one main centre of the caving for which the area is famous and occasionally notorious, all the houses are full in summer and more than half empty in winter.

One should not overlook, though, the pleasures of winter up here. June, when it is fine, is probably incomparable anywhere in England. High summer is still fresh and the serious walker can enjoy fine tracts of open country. But it is busy, even in a tiny place like this, if you keep a post office and shop and have to ration out the time to visiting friends from far away. The glorious silence which descends from October to March, with snow on the tops for a lot of the time and in the dale itself for several weeks, is the time to enjoy.

With scarcely an outside light to distract from it the Milky Way in its myriad stars is what it has been since man began to marvel at it. The boutique owners have gone to the south of France, the Craven Herald is full of pantomimes and performances of the Messiah. The cattle are inside. The farmers repair gaps in their walls and take sheep fodder up the fells. But there isn't all that much daylight, and the pub has a longer dominoes night. For those with the liberty it is time to light the fire, and when the snow has been shovelled away in the morning you never know, you may have a bit of peace.

Olga writes to the papers

By Martin Walker in Moscow

A FRIEND of mine is an indefatigable writer of letters to the Soviet press, largely because she is convinced they work. Her first effort came after a visit to the Moscow zoo, and she was heartbroken by the cramped cages and generally downcast air of the animals, located near one of the busiest traffic junctions in the city.

She wrote to Vechernaya Moskva, the local evening paper, and within 10 days, had received a formal letter from the ministry of culture, asking her to visit the zoo again. She was met by the deputy director, a vet and a young official of the minstry, and taken on a guided tour while the vet explained how the animals' health was monitored, and the deputy director spoke of his own concern, and his faith in the rebuilding project which would house all the animals better in the future.

My friend Olga thought this was rather impressive. She worked, by the way, as a secretary and can claim no status or influence. She had written the letter from home as an ordinary citizen.

She later spent about a month's salary on an imported Finnish raincoat, bought quite openly at a Moscow department store, and was delighted with its chic cut and style. Then she sent it to be cleaned. Disaster. It needed a special dry-cleaning process, and the Moscow dry cleaners had none of the required chemicals.

This time she wrote to Rabochnitsa, a magazine which translates as Working Woman. "It is ridiculous," she began, "that our ministry of foreign trade should pay the Finns for clothes we cannot clean. Either we should not buy them at all, or we should buy the chemicals to clean them at the same time."

This time she received a duplicated letter, which had obviously been sent out to hundreds of other complainants, from the Moscow trade department which had been responsible for selling the coats. It was apologetic in tone, and said that arrangements had been made with the ministry of foreign trade to buy not only Finnish dry-cleaning chemicals, but also some Finnish dry-cleaning machines that would solve the problem of the disappointed purchasers.

This, Olga dismissed as a *skoro budit* — brush-off. *Skoro budit* means "it will happen soon," and is the Russian equivalent of *manyana*. She was right. A year later, she still cannot get her coat cleaned.

But her faith in the letters system is unshaken, and her next one was a humdinger.

"We can buy German-made coats of our good Russian fur in our shops for 12,000 roubles. It takes me over five years to earn that much money and I cannot afford it, but it is good that people who can afford it should be able to make such a purchase. But if our trading department is imaginative enough to provide such luxuries, why cannot they provide any of our shops with a decent Soviet-made deodorant selling for two roubles, which is what women really need."

She sat back to await results, sure that the shelves of GUM would soon overflow with deodorant, and that she might even be escorted round by a pleasant young man from the ministry of light industry.

Instead, she received a personal letter from the head of the letters department at Rabochnitsa. It read, in full: "Thank you for your letter, which will help us in our efforts to wage our joint campaign against shortages."

It seems the letters pages of the newspapers, the much vaunted safety-valve of the Soviet system, are being clogged with too many complaints. Party officials are already talking openly of the new wave of criticisms unleashed by Gorbachev having gone too far; that people are complaining about flippant things; that enterprising managers are spending far too much of their time dealing with press inquiries into letters complaining that the manager is arrogant and resists constructive criticism.

The letters department of Moskovskaya Pravda, for example, used to receive about 150 letters a day. This time last year, the figure was up to 300, and now it approaches 500 a day. They have to take on part-time worker-correspondents to help cope with the flood.

Reporters at other newspapers say it is happening there too, and the letters department of the central committee has also noted a sharper rise in its volume of mail from the public. Pravda wearily reported recently that not a day went past without its office in Alma-Ata getting written complaints about corruption, bad food supplies and the like.

At one level, this means more disappointments for Olga and her fellow letter-writers, and, perhaps, the disillusion of their faith that the system can be responsive. At another level, and more ominously, we are seeing the first signs of the official backlash against the Gorbachev reforms. Incidentally, not one of Olga's letters was ever printed.

Orchids in the wild

By Ralph Whitlock

WHEN in my teens I developed an absorbing interest in natural history I subjected the fields and woods, streams and downs, around my home, to intensive exploration, learning the names of the birds, insects, and flowers that shared this enchanting world with me and noting just where they were to be found.

In those days, when half of England was derelict, I could have led you to the nests of stone curlews and cirl buntings or to where, on sunny summer afternoons, marbled white and chalkhill blue butterflies rose in clouds from the downland herbage. Nearby were colonies of carline thistles, nestling among the harebells, and those tiny downland flowers rejoicing in the imaginative names of eyebright, squinancywort, fairy flax and lady's finger, while a mile or two distant, in a dense wood which hid the ruins of a mediaeval priory, lived a persistent group of specimens of the very rare herb Paris.

One of my treasured discoveries, kept secret from most of my contemporaries, was a small colony of bee orchids. In late June or early July, I could be certain of finding just two or three of them in this one spot. I admired the form and beauty of this lovely little flower, so reminiscent of a fat brown bee extracting nectar from a pink cruciferous blossom, but, of course, the excitement lay chiefly in discovering such a rarity. Alas, no-one will ever again see that colony, for many years ago the plough claimed its site, which now grows wheat instead of orchids.

Returning to my native haunts earlier this year, I unpremeditatedly renewed my interest in orchids. My morning woodland walks took me along a path where in May I spotted the unfolding leaves of the not uncommon twayblade orchid. Experience has taught me that orchids apparently thrive in each other's company; when we find one species it is worth looking round for another. In this instance, it wasn't long before I found butterfly orchids, both greater and lesser. I was hooked on orchid-hunting again.

It may seem a strange pursuit in temperate England. In popular esteem orchids are exotic flowers, commanding exotic prices in the best florists. We can cultivate them in heated greenhouses or oven in warm, airy rooms, but the cheapest plants cost from £10 upwards, and to see them in their natural surroundings we need to visit a tropical rain-forest or its simulation in a humid glasshouse in a botanical garden. If we think that way, it may come as a surprise that about fifty different kinds of orchid flourish wild in the British Isles. Some of the handsomest are quite common, but most are rare, their scarcity giving an added zest to orchid-hunting.

Orchids take such a long time to become established that the destruction of their habitats by plough or some other agency is tragic. The twayblade orchid plant is fifteen years or so old before it sends up its first flower stalk; the burnt orchid is almost as old before it produces its first leaves. An enterprising friend once sprinkled some seeds of the bee orchid in a suitable spot, and the first flowers appeared seven years later.

The seeds of orchids are so tiny that they have little space for food reserves. Instead of relying on such reserves the seedling orchid draws its nourishment from certain fungi which grow partly inside and partly outside the orchid roots. The fungi extract nutrients from decaying vegetable matter in the soil, and the orchid roots requisition a share of them.

A rather extreme case is that of the birds-nest orchid, of which I have found several small colonies this summer. The roots, from which it derives its name, are like a ball of worms that I have sometimes seen fishermen use for catching eels. They extract nourishment, through their associated fungus, from the humus formed by rotting leaves under shady trees. The plant never manufactures any chlorophyll, and so the flower stalk and flowers themselves are entirely brown. Not particularly beautiful but a great find.

The British orchids are widely distributed and are found in almost every type of habitat. Some live in the shade of deep woods, even a few in the pinewoods of Scotland; some are found in bogs and marshes; some on sandy heaths. Most, however, prefer chalk and limestone silos; the best places to look for orchids in general being (a) chalk downs and (b) beechwoods on chalk or limestone.

Success apparently breeds success in orchid-hunting. Having duly recorded solitary butterfly and birds-nest orchids I suddenly came across assemblies of them — butterfly orchids by the score.

Then I remembered a hillside where I used to find orchids fifty years ago. It was too steep for ploughing, so perhaps the orchids still survived. I made the pilgrimage and was rewarded by the sight of an acre or so of chalk downland studded almost as thickly with orchids as a meadow with buttercups. Hundreds of them. Most were the erect and beautifully-scented fragrant orchids but there was also a good sprinkling of spotted orchids and pyramidal orchids.

And then, most unexpected of all, several colonies of bee orchids. I counted fifteen flower-spikes and went home vastly content. Despite plough, sprays, people and all the other hazards of the 1980s, orchids still manage to flourish in England.

A spiritual tug of war

THEATRE by Michael Billington

I EMERGED from Andrzej Wajda's production of Crime and Punishment (which launched the Edinburgh Festival's admirable World Theatre season) with aching bottom and exhilarated spirit. Nearly three hours on the wooden benches of St Bride's Centre in Orwell Terrace is tough going, but the acting in this Stary Theatre of Krakow production is so magnificent you forget the mortification of the flesh.

Wajda's much-travelled production (which last week had its 150th performance) is diametrically different to Lyubimov's famous version of Dostoievsky's great thriller. Lyubimov tried to encompass the whole story: Wajda focuses on the cat and mouse confrontations of the killer Raskolnikov and the magistrate Porfiry.

Lyubimov worked through recurring Expressionist images: Wajda's style is closer to what John Jones calls the "apocalyptical naturalism" of the novel. Lyubimov's moral purpose was to show "that evil cannot be called good:" Wajda's version is more compassionate to the would-be Napoleonic murderer and highlights the strange spiritual kinship between him and his convulsive interrogator.

The first thing to hit you is the mouldering detail of Krystyna Zachwatowicz's design — a precise evocation of the novel's "stinking Petersburg."

The audience of 100 is separated from the actors by a wooden rail. Behind that are crumbling, glass-panelled frames, claustrophobic rooms, rusting samovars, chipped lamps, even glasses with that peculiar yellow liquid issuing from the city's noxious water supply. Dostoievsky absented himself from the city in 1866 when writing the book to avoid "false inspiration."

He created from the imagination a St Petersburg of dirt, heat, bile, and decay: which is what you see on stage with the addition of a glass case containing the murdered moneylender's effects like exhibits in a murder trial.

But the fascination of this production lies in the emotional interdependence of the twin protagonists. Jerzy Radziwilowicz (who played the lead in Wajda's Man Of Iron and Man Of Marble) is a brilliant Raskolnikov. He conveys the point, even to non-Polish speakers, that the character's punishment lies in his mental torment. He looks exactly right from the rimless specs and unruly hair down to the thick-soled squeaking boots with their white string laces.

He also communicates the murderer's hunger for spiritual redemption. When he visits the prostitute Sonia his hand quivers over her bible like some vast claw with prehensile fingers and then he beats his temples with it as if trying to din the Lazarus story into his brain. This Raskolnikov's torment lies within; and when he confesses his crime his body is filled with exhausted relief.

But the Porfiry of Jerzy Stuhr (another famous Polish film actor) is equally remarkable. What he gets across is the man's double nature. On the one hand, he is the obsessive sleuth, always watching, listening, smoking and neatly cutting out Raskolnikov's article on crime before putting it in the exhibit case.

But there is something dangerous about him which suggests that to trap a murderer one has first to understand him. Stuhr periodically emits a choking, mirthless laugh in which his bull-frog eyes bulge from their sockets, and when he accuses Raskolnikov of delirium his own body shakes and judders as if he too is possessed by a demon. I called the interrogation a cat and mouse game; but the revelation of this production is that you cannot always tell which is the cat and which the mouse.

Wajda's production is not the whole book: what it gives us is a breathtaking spiritual contest played out in peeling rooms. It also has a compelling moral neutrality suggesting that the dividing line between the magistrate who brutally kicks a prisoner who falsely confesses and the murderer who craves divine forgiveness is dangerously thin. It is less physically dynamic than Lyubimov's production but equally enthralling; and, like that, it proves the key to adaption lies in expressing a particular vision of a novel rather than in simply ironing out its incidents.

The best in town

I HAD almost forgotten musicals could be witty. Today too many of them are weighed down by hi-tec sets and an inflated sense of their own importance when they are really like very bad 19th century operas. But Wonder Town, which sails into the Queen's from the Palace, Watford, is a spirit-lifting joy from 1953 that is about real people rather than a display of light engineering and that both vocally and musically is instinct with ironic humour. It is much the best musical in London.

Part of its secret is that it is based on a cooperative alliance of first rate talents. Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov adapted the book from their play, My Sister Eileen, about two Ohio sisters who besieged New York from their Greenwich Village basement. (The show is set in 1935 when Christopher Street was still a heterogeneous community).

Betty Comden and Adolph Green provide lyrics that advance plot and define character while retaining their crispness; Pass The Football harpoons beautifully the way athletic prowess leads to collegiate stardom while leaving its own stranded in afterlife. And Leonard Bernstein's score encompasses popular jazz, romantic lament, a conga, and, with its wry dissonance and sudden tempo changes, anticipates West Side Story.

But it is the bright Manhattan wit that is the show's most distinctive quality. It plays lightly over almost all the numbers: Conversation Piece is a classic account of a strangulated dinner party where Ruth, the blue stocking heroine, weighs in vivaciously with remarks like "I was re-reading Moby Dick the other day," and Darling Eileen, set in a New York Precinct House, is an Irish jig for sundry cops who steadfastly refuse to believe that a girl with that name isn't from the old country.

But the evening's highlight is the first act climax where Ruth bravely tries to interview a posse of Brazilian matelots about major issues while they want nothing more than to conga: at this point, the production could use a few more bodies but the number both releases Ruth's inhibitions and fills the stage with Latin American rhythms.

It's a touch too hard to accept Maureen Lipman as a sex-starved wallflower but her Ruth has the slight tetchiness of the aspiring writer and overlooked sister while her comic timing is impeccable: not least when she acts out her sub-Hemingway safari story while a magazine editor tries to read it. Emily Morgan as sister Eileen is all corn-haired country girl eagerness and there is good support from Nicolas Colicos (whom I last saw in a Canadian Roberta) as a marooned athletic hulk, and from Roy Lommen as the love-struck editor.

Martin Connor's production also captures both the urban wit and ironic lyricism of a musical that is the best the town has seen since the National's revival of Guys and Dolls.

Goo inside the apple pie

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

JOHN HUGHES wrote and directed The Breakfast Club, the best and most intelligent teen movie of last year. He's now written but not directed Pretty In Pink, which is the most successful of the genre so far this year. If it is also the best, however, we've just about reached the nadir.

The intelligence that has gone into it is mostly a matter of cosmetics. The film looks like nothing so much as a very shrewd compendium of what the market requires. Pretty In Pink is a teenage version of those wrong side of the tracks romances of some 30 years ago, impeccably dressed in mid-eighties clobber.

The girl (Molly Ringwald) lives with her father (Harry Dean Stanton) in a simple bungalow on the poorer side of town, mother having deserted. But she's bright and goes to a good school, expecting a scholarship to college. She's also pretty even when she's not in pink — though her habit of keeping her mouth half open when not speaking would seem likely to attract as many flies as men.

The boy who loves her most is fellow Zoid Duckie (Jon Cryer) who talks smart but acts dumb. The one who lusts after her most is Steff (James Spader) who is handsome, rich, and totally unused to a girl saying no. But she fancies Blane (Andrew McCarthy) who eyes her like a yuppie puppy on heat. But he's a gent and doesn't do anything.

Steff knows one thing. If he can't have "the slag", Blane won't. So he mocks away merrily causing Blane pain as the "Richies" reject the Zoid. Back home, Harry Dean, of the extremely well lived-in face and the emblematic taciturnity that encourages cults, tells her: "You like him. He likes you. Take the heat. It's worth it." Thus are life's grittier problems boiled down into movie philosophy. And we ask the inevitable question — who's going to take her to the Senior Prom?

Hughes and Howard Deutch, the director, embroider this passion fruit tale with every icon of the under-21 set they can muster, from spots to in-phrases, rave-in music to pop suitings. They're really on the ball. But crisp as the crust is, the inside of the pie remains obstinately like junk-food goo. Pretty In Pink is manipulative dream fodder par excellence, and about as much like real life as Cobra, though without the realistic blood.



Omar Ebrahim as Alan.

A new challenge by Birtwistle

OPERA by Edward Greenfield

NO COMPOSER pursues his individual visions so relentlessly as Harrison Birtwistle. His three operas — defying conventional rules, standing firm on laws of their own — may each have you initially resisting, but the power of the rugged stage manners refuses to be ignored and has a way of catching up with you not just at the time but in hours and days following.

What he presents are elemental experiences. Yan Tan Tethera, now given its first staging by David Freeman's Opera Factory as part of Summerscope, like its predecessors, Punch and Judy and the Mask of Orpheus, is a slow-moving obsessive ritual. Its 90-minute span in one act may stretch concentration to the limit, maddening you with its stylised repetitions, but like its predecessor it makes its point as tellingly as a Greek drama.

Where Punch based its rituals on nursery story and rhyme, and Orpheus developed a world of associations from Greek myth, telling and retelling, Yan Tan Tethera roots itself in a Wiltshire folk tale. It is a simple story of two shepherds, Alan from the North who against the odds prospers, and Caleb on home ground resenting the intruder, calling in aid the Devil (seen as an elusive piper or the Bad 'Un). Alan is spirited away along with his twins. His wife Hannah resists Caleb's advances, finally wins the return of Alan and her children along with two urchins whom Caleb had tried to palm off on her.

Birtwistle's librettist, Tony Harrison, also a northerner, has honed down words and characterisation to a dangerous degree, but the disconcerting baldness is as much an essential part of the composer's vision as the comparably stylised librettos of Punch and Orpheus.

The title itself, Yan Tan Tethera, is an incantation based on the counting of sheep, old northern words for one, two, three. In the opera even the sheep themselves get in on the act, counting away so purposefully they might be intent on sending you to sleep. Though he strains you, Birtwistle never begins to do that and the wonder of the steady flow over so much of the 90 minutes is that it intensifies all the more the rare passages of action.

Though the pace is slow, there are few moments of total stillness. My first reaction was to wish there were more, when the orchestra (wind quintet, horn, string septet, harp and percussion) keeps a gently jangling commentary that relates disconcertingly little to the three, often rock-like, vocal lines above it.

Though by a fluke of production Yan Tan Tethera follows so closely on the heels of the Mask of Orpheus at the English National Opera, its concept and completion is much more recent. On the face of it, Birtwistle has softened his idiom a degree further. There are moments of simple, Britten-like poetry — as when the call of the Piper is heard or the false urchins gambol about, singing in piping treble "we will be seven tomorrow" — but the flavour remains totally individual.

On the new full width stage at Queen Elizabeth Hall there is no room for the orchestra except at the back behind a gauze. Though that detaches singers from players more completely, it does at least have the advantage of making words clearer, with the main conductor, Elgar Howarth, assisted from a front stage prompt box by Charles Peebles.

In David Roger's designs the stage is set about with standing stones. Impersonating in turn the black-faced southern sheep and the white-faced northerners, the chorus members wear realistic masks by Arriane Gastambide, reinforcing the unexpected by pointful parallel with a Greek chorus.

The cast of principles is brilliantly led by Omar Ebrahim as Alan, bearded with a ruggedly northern accent regularly adopting a folk singer's fog horn delivery. Where Birtwistle asks for a light baritone as Alan and a dark one as Caleb, this production has it the other way round, with Richard Suart rather too refined to sound villainous. It is a pity too that for all the virtuosity of her singing, Helen Charnock as Hannah produces shrill and fluttery tones, particularly when much of her music relates back to the beauty of Orpheus and bears more emotional weight than the rest. Under Howarth, the London Sinfonietta plays with concentrated commitment. This is a piece which, haunting the mind, challenges you to fresh listening as keenly as its predecessors.

All the same, it works

By Edward Greenfield

THE SCENE is the beach at Cosi-on-Sea with Don Alfonso making sand-castles among the potted palms. As the overture finishes, a gaggle of young swimmers comes rushing in, scattering any latecomers. From then on David Freeman's production for Opera Factory of Mozart's sublimely farcical comedy does its updating with sharp and often very funny ingenity, until with a sting in the tail it sets an uncomfortable question-mark over the pairing of the lovers: these are real people waking up.

It would take a curmudgeon to object to such treatment for Cosi fan tutte. Freeman rejects the charge that it is a "highly artificial" piece but rather a disguise opera. So characters — in the freedom and fun of the beach — are given "the chance to become somebody else." With a racy new translation by Anne Ridley he actually clarifies motivation, making the impossible switches and non-recognitions of Da Ponte's plot more, not less, probable when set in 1986.

So Fiordiligi is a chainsmoker, looking intense behind the heavy glasses she keeps putting on, contrasting with her easier-going sister Despina, less a servant than an au pair, instructs her mistress after putting on a fright wig and a see-through skirt, and makes her official disguises far more convincing that usual, first as a frump of a woman doctor administering electro-therapy later as a seedy old lawyer.

As for the men, they have their call-up for paratroop service, and promptly return as wealthy Arabs, almost unrecognisable behind beards, head-dresses and dark glasses. Freeman has fun in Act 1, leaving the two pairs as they were before the departure, with Ferrando still partnering Dorabella and Guglielmo with Fiordiligi.

Musically it works well too. This is the first of the new South Bank Board's attempts to exploit the Queen Elizabeth Hall for opera as music-theatre, and is encouraging. The players of the London Sinfonetta, crisply directed by Paul Daniel, sit down the right-hand strip of the bare full-width stage. That may bring an awkward balance in some parts of the hall, but was excellent where I was, with modest strings balancing the wind well enough, but allowing voices of less than Covent Garden grandeur to shine through.

Marie Angel as Fiordiligi with her pained over-responsibleness provided a central focus. After sitting under the note too much at the start, she brought the necessary command to "Come scoglio" (strong as granite) and even more to "Per pietà." Bright, clean projection equally marked the singing both of the impetuous Dorabella of Christine Botes and the provocative Despina of Janis Kelly.

Nigel Robson, strained by the high tessitura of Ferrando's two big arias, sang otherwise with impeccable sweetness, and provided in his maturity a pointed contrast with the gangling young Guglielmo of Geoffrey Dolton, fresh and light of voice.

Oxford and the black man's burden

By Kenneth O. Morgan

OXFORD AND EMPIRE. THE LAST LOST CAUSE? by Richard Symonds (Macmillan, £29.50).
RACE AND EMPIRE IN BRITISH POLITICS, by Paul B. Rich (Cambridge, £25).

OXFORD plays a curious, self-contradictory role in British political culture. On the one hand, we have the elitism, the class-based superiority, the seductive image of Brideshead decadence beloved of the media. On the other hand, occasional upsurges by leftish intellectuals running amuck, as in the "King and Country" debate, Alan Taylor's incomparable histories, or, recently, the Thatcher vote in Congregation.

Both aspects of the university's reputation are on display in Richard Symonds's well-researched and highly readable, if somewhat episodic account of the links between the Oxford ethos and the high noon of British imperialism. The nobility and the squalor emerge with equal force.

The book picks up three main themes. The first of these, the precise contribution of the university to the philosphy of empire, and to popular perceptions of it, is perhaps the most familiar. We hear yet again of the public ethic of Jowett's Balliol and of the imperial ideology proclaimed by Oxford historians, philosophers, and, above all, classicists of the Greats School ("At home, England is Greek. In the Empire, she is Roman," wrote the Australian scholar, Gilbert Murray, who disapproved).

The particular gloss put on all this by Milner's Oxford-bred "kindergarten" group in South Africa is also a well-known story (though the author should add their important role in British central government in 1916-22 as well).

More interesting are the other two sections. There is much beguiling information on attempts to remodel Oxford's institutions, methods, and syllabus to make it "the great imperial university". Hence the Imperial Geography Promoted by Halford Mackinder, the Imperial Medicine fostered by the Canadian William Osler, the heady visions attached to the new Indian Institute, and, above all, the massive impact of Cecil Rhodes, now indestructibly embodied in Rhodes House, the copper-domed Kremlin of South Parks Road.

The final section, equally fascinatingly, considers Oxford in the field, the world of the diaspora, with the intercontinental impact of Oxford men (and a very few women) in imperial territories as teachers, missionaries, and, supremely, as administrators, through the close links built up between Balliol and other colleges and the Indian Civil Service.

Mr Symonds speculates that empire was chief among Oxford's lost causes. In many ways, he is right, since imperial retreat was under way even before Herbert Baker completed Rhodes House in 1929. The whole movement was curiously rarefied, often removed from much knowledge of either the imperial dependencies or even of Britain itself. Indeed, Reginald Coupland, a famous Oxford Historian of empire, found at the end of his days that he needed to examine the subtle subnationalism of the Welsh and the Scots much nearer home. Yet the monuments of Oxford imperialism still lie around us. Its ethic was transmitted to courts, campuses, and cricket pavilions across the world.

The universities of Toronto, Sydney, Makerere and Witwatersrand (the last still a surviving bastion of white South African liberalism) are testimony to its enduring impact: for internal colonialism, we have the late Lord Fulton's founding of a new university near Brighton, popularly dubbed "Balliol-by-the-sea". In Oxford itself, one mighty legacy survives, namely the Rhodes bequest, including the incomparable library of Rhodes House and the Rhodes scholarship scheme for American and Commonwealth graduates (plus a few Germans). Indeed, the latter has never been more thriving since it now includes both blacks and women, both anathema to Rhodes himself.

Rhodes never really knew Oxford at first hand. His honorary degree, like that of Mrs Thatcher, was opposed by some dons. On that occasion, the liberals lost, while the patriotic Oxford Magazine joyfully pointed out that the English-educated Boer generals were all Cambridge men.

Still, the priceless academic legacy of this deeply flawed man lives on after him. Almost by accident, he had built more successfully in South Parks Road than in South Africa. In this vital respect, then, the Oxford imperial mystique remains vibrant, alive and relevant for the 21st century.

The ideology of empire, of course, penetrated far beyond the introspective collegiate life of Oxford. As Paul Rich shows in his most stimulating and fully documented study, it meant that notions of race and of cultural relativism between greater and lesser breeds became inseparable from the experience of British democracy over the past 100 years.

The process of transmission, though, took many different forms. In the late-Victorian period, there was much racial/biological investigation of ethnic types or stereotypes, aided by the work of spurious anthropometrists and eugenicists, and even innocent academic geographers like Professor Fleure of Aberystwyth. There was also the contrasting Commonwealth ideal of institutional liberalism, pioneered by Lionel Curtis and other Milnerite disciples; in time, they helped dispel fantasies about scientifically verifiable characteristics that distinguished superior or inferior races.

From the 'twenties, however, ideas of race, previously largely abstract, came to be tested on the ground within Britain. First, they focused on the small coloured population of sea-ports like Cardiff, Liverpool, and Newcastle. Then the influx of black US servicemen (segregated in their own camps) caused much *frisson* after 1941.

Finally, from 1950 came the large influx of black and brown Commonwealth immigration which variously generated the sub-Roman atavism of Enoch Powell, the violence of Brixton and Broadwater Farm, and the beneficient growth of the Race Relations Institute, or industry. In one sense, the 1981 Scarman report marked the end of an era of late-Victorian paternalism, reinforced by fears of racial miscegenation. But the ethnic component in our culture still remains a source of tension and potential conflict as for a century past.

For all its title, Dr Rich's book could have done with a firmer political structure. Nevertheless, this study genuinely breaks new ground. It illuminates our insecure, poly-ethnic society, and thereby underscores the grandeur and the tragedy of the black man's burden in modern Britain.

Terrorists — it depends what you mean

WAR WITHOUT END. The Terrorists: An Intelligence Dossier, by Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne (Harrap, £9.95).
THE FINANCING OF TERROR, by James Adams (New English Library, £12.95).
THE WORLD HELD HOSTAGE: The War Waged by International Terrorism, by Desmond McForan (Oak-Tree Books, £14.95).

THREATS to civilisation as we know it do not seem to produce great literature. Terrorism, however one chooses to define it, is undoubtedly a pernicious threat to civilised relations both within and between states: the chaos of Beirut today is an awful warning of the way in which terrorism can contribute to the destruction of society. Yet the books on terrorism are, with a few shining exceptions, second-rate or worse. Why?

One reason is that a single abstract term is used to cover an extraordinary diverse set of activities. Does the convenient label of "terrorism" really justify talking in the same breath about the African National Congress of South Africa, the Red Brigades in Italy, and the Shi'ite lorry-bombers in Beirut? It is not just that their causes have different kinds and degrees of justification, but also that their methods of struggle vary greatly, as do the cultural milieux in which they operate.

The literature on terrorism is tawdry also because so much reliance has to be placed on information from government intelligence services. Such information is bound, in the nature of things, to be partial and selective. Moreover, some countries' intelligence agencies seem to have an institutional bias in favour of seeing terrorism more as an international conspiracy than as a social disease.

All three of these books discuss terrorism in the 1980s world-wide. The first two — War Without End and The Financing of Terror, both by journalists — are solid and worthwhile whatever flaws they may contain. The third book, The World Held Hostage, is by an author with stronger claims to being an academic, and the kindest thing one can say about it is that at £14.95, it is further proof, if proof is needed, that the most expensive is not necessarily the best.

Dobson and Payne, who have worked for the Sunday Telegraph and other papers, have written books on this subject before. Their new book is to some extent an update, attempting "to beat a path through the jungle of sects, communiques and appalling deeds" so that the reader can "master the significance of big events as they develop." There is much useful information here, and some sensible judgments.

The authors do not take an exaggeratedly fearful view of terrorism, which is seldom effective in realising the stated aims of its proponents. They help the reader to understand the complex causes of terrorism, including the suicide-bombings in Lebanon and elsewhere in recent years. They do not think that the Kremlin is behind every bombing, but they do argue

By Adam Roberts

that there is a degree of arms-length Soviet connivance with some terrorist groups.

So far, so good. However, Dobson and Payne avoid a number of difficult questions. They list the African National Congress in their compilation of terrorist organisations, but omit SWAPO in Namibia and UNITA in Angola. They do not mention Afghanistan or the mujaheddin. These inclusions and omissions are for the most part unexplained.

The authors, like most writers on terrorism, often seem to dodge two questions which have to be answered before labelling a group as "terrorist": first, is terror actually the main means by which the group exercises control? And second, are the forces against which they are fighting also terroristic — as indeed is the case in South Africa?

James Adams has wisely concentrated on one aspect of terrorism: its financial basis. He shows how one terrorist organisation after another, initially set up to support a political cause, has degenerated into criminality. The extent to which the Provisional IRA and the PLO have trodden this path pioneered by the Mafia is shown very convincingly.

Looking at terrorism via its finances gives Adams some interesting insights into the question of supposed Kremlin control. He suggests that the Soviet Union, in this as in other realms of activity, is tight-fisted with hard currency. It does not dish out money to terrorists, and probably therefore can only call the tune to a very limited extent.

Illuminating as his analysis is, Adams rushes to judgment on many points, including the alleged Bulgarian involvement in the plot to kill the Pope. Also he evades some difficult issues by saying, in a facile way, that UNITA in Angola and the Contras in Nicaragua "fall outside my definition of terrorism."

Desmond McForan is described on his dust-jacket as having visited 15 different countries (wow!), as "particularly aware of the Palestinian problem" (see below), as "an acknowledged expert on political options" (what?), and as "a freelance consultant for a State-side university" (which?). His book is about how the Soviet Union, Libya and Cuba are training grounds for terrorism, while the finance is provided by the Western world's self-destructive need for oil.

McForan's writing is that of a true believer who has seen the light and wants others to do so. He suggests that his work is "a clear revelation of the facts," but it is far from that. His account of the origins of Palestinian terrorism fails to mention the salient if uncomfortable fact that Israel emerged out of a movement which used terrorist methods. He shows little understanding of the way in which Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank has legitimised the PLO cause in Arab eyes, and he resorts to the euphemistic term "Israeli administration" which even many Israelis don't bother with.

His ad-man statements about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 are ludicrous. He is equally euphemistic about the Moroccan role in Western Sahara. He trots out the standard attack on the United Nations without presenting any of the evidence which might point to a different conclusion.

The war against terrorism is *the final battle*, or so he says in a typical passage in bold type. God help all of us if those fighting against terrorism use McForan as their expert on political options.

A Greek myth

By Mary Beard

WOMEN IN GREEK MYTH, by Mary Lefkowitz (Duckworth, £12.95).

MATRIARCHY has gone out of fashion. Those who believe in a primeval rule of women are the lunatic fringe — the "flat-earthers" — of modern feminist scholarship. This was not always so. In the late nineteenth century the most respectable academic circles accepted matriarchy as the most plausible form of primitive social organisation.

For some, it fitted neatly with a Darwinian evolutionary approach to human society. For others, such as Engels, it offered the vision of a world before the advent of patriarchal capitalism. For still more, it provided the most economical solution to one of the biggest problems of Greek mythology — the prominence of women in the myths of a society well known to have restricted public power to men.

How else, for example, to explain stories of Amazons — that legendary race of single-breasted female warriors, living apart from men on the margins of civilisation? Were they not quite simply the dim mythological memories of a time when, in deepest pre-history, women really did rule the world?

In the first, and by far the most successful, chapter of her book, Mary Lefkowitz sharply dismisses any notion of a matriarchal Greek past. She follows the new othodoxy in arguing that the myths of women in power were a useful tool of the patriarchal order; far from reflecting some long lost prehistorical reality, they served to justify the established rule of men.

This is not so paradoxical as it seems. While *we* might assume that the Amazons, for example, offered a positive view of women's potential, for the Greeks the message of the myths was essentially negative: women's power was an unnatural perverted tyranny, doomed to failure.

The mythological inheritance, the stories of the Amazons' transgressions and of their defeat by a succession of male heroes, provided for the Greek man ample proof that men alone were capable and worthy of wielding power.

This reinterpretation of the myth of matriarchy owes much to feminist anthropology. But for the rest of the book Lefkowitz engages in repeated and irritating polemic against "feminist" critics of Greek literature and culture — critics who in her view have exaggerated the misogyny of Greek society, have overemphasised the restrictions on women's lives in the ancient world and have imposed upon Greek myth their own preoccupations with sexuality and sexual conflict.

This does not show Lefkowitz at her best. It produces bland talk of the appeal of feminine intelligence to the Greek male and a series of alarmingly literal-minded interpretations of Greek drama and poetry, including the notable assertion that "the text of Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus* give no indiction that Oedipus was sexually attracted to Jocasta".

She even goes so far as to claim, in a vein reminiscent of harem-keeper or Victorian husband, that "Greek men may not have been so concerned with repressing women as with protecting them" — with no discussion of how protection and oppression might be two sides of the same patriarchal coin.

It is no doubt true, as she claims, that some very odd arguments have been launched into the world under the banner of "feminism", but few of these have been so odd (even perverse) as those launched by Lefkowitz in retaliation.

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1920

White mates in four moves, against any defence (by H. Johner). The black king is hemmed in behind a pawn wall, and the difficulty for White is to land his knock-out without permitting stalemate.

Solution No. 1919:

White K at K4, Q at Q4, Rs at Q8 and KB7, Bs at K8 and K5, Ns at Q5 and KB5, Ps at QB7, Q7, Q6, K7, KB6, KB4 and KN7. Black K at K3, Ns at QB8 and KN8, Ps at Q7, K6, K7 and KB7. White mates "at once". Black must have made two pawn captures to achieve four pawns on two files, but White has lost only one man. Whichever White unit is emitted by the volcano-shaped position to make the diagram legal, White has mate in one.

IN THE Kleinwort Grieveson British Championship, Michael Adams, 14, shared the lead with three grandmasters at the end of the seventh round. His five and a half points were scored against opponents including one GM and five international masters. He was then already within 1-1½ points of an IM norm, a feat achieved at age 14 or younger only by Fischer, Mecking, Short, Anand and Saeed (the last in a weak FIDE zonal)

Adams's total is the more impressive since his vanquished titled rivals were not middle-aged veterans for whom an encounter with a very young player can be psychologically difficult, but our hungry and ambitious generation in their early twenties who are themselves making a significant mark in world events.

Adams has shown that he is likely to become one of the strong grandmasters of the 1990s. It will be hard for him to follow Short and become a realistic contender for the throne of Kasparov and Karpov, but his quantum jump underlines the value of BCF junior policy which gives real talent the maximum high level opportunities at the youngest possible age.

Cornwall, his county, played Adams in their senior team at age 8. He was included in Lloyds Bank junior invitations at 9, competed in the Lloyds Bank Masters at 12 (where he missed the IM norm by half a point) and the British Championship at 13. He was also given the chance of clock or blitz games with Kasparov and Spassky, while NatWest financed his journey to New York for a match with the best US player of his age. Only in the USSR do promising juniors receive a similarly concentrated and inspirational programme, which explains why Britain has had such notable success with schoolboy talent over the past decade.

IM William Watson — Michael Adams
French Defence
(Kleinwort Grieveson British Championship 1986)

1 P-K4 P-K3 | 2 P-Q4 P-Q4
3 N-QB3 B-N5 | 4 B-Q3 PxP
5 BxP N-KB3 | 6 B-Q3

More usual is 6 B-B3 P-B4 7 N-K2, but White's fourth is harmless compared to the usual 4 P-K5.

6 ... P-B4 | 7 P-QR3 B-R4
8 PxP BxN ch | 9 PxB QN-Q2
10 B-K3 Q-B2 | 11 N-B3 O-O
12 O-O P-K4 | 13 N-Q2 NxP
14 B-KN5 P-K5 | 15 BxN KPxB
16 B-Q4 PxP | 17 QxP N-K3
18 B-K3 P-QN3 | 19 P-KB4?

Pressing for attack, White makes a serious positional error. With bishops of opposite colours on the board, weak points round the king of the same colour as the enemy bishop need special care. Here White not only weakens his KN2 but allows the black minor pieces to enter on his Q3.

19 ... B-R3 | 20 KR-K1 QR-Q1
21 Q-R4

Understandably White does not care for 21 P-N3, saving the attacked pawn but baring the long white diagonal.

21 ... N-B4 | 22 Q-B2 N-Q6
23 R-KB1 KR-K1 | 24 R-B3 B-N2
25 R-R3 P-N3 | 26 R-KB1 RxB!
27 RxR Q-B4 | 28 N-B4 P-QN4!

Even better than QxN. With two pieces for a rook plus a strong attack, Black is winning easily.

29 K-R1 PxN | 30 Q-K2 B-B3
31 P-B5 R-N1 | 32 R-N3 R-K1
33 Q-Q2 Q-K4 | 34 PxP RPxP

Black is material up, has his pieces centralised in the approved Nimzovichian manner, and now ends with a flourish.

35 Q-R6 Q-KB4! | 36 R-R1 N-K8
37 K-N1 R-K7 | 38 R-Q1 Q-B7 ch
39 Resigns

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

THE Juan les Pins Bridge Festival always seems to produce more than its fair share of freak hands, and this year was no exception. The following deal caused considerable excitement.

Dealer West; North-South vulnerable.

NORTH
♠ —
♥ 10 9 8 5 4
♦ K J 8
♣ K Q 8 6 5

WEST
♠ A K 10 8 7 3 2
♥ —
♦ Q 10 7 3
♣ J 2

EAST
♠ Q J 9 6 5 4
♥ 7
♦ A 9 5 2
♣ 10 7

SOUTH
♠ —
♥ A K Q J 6 3 2
♦ 6 4
♣ A 10 4 3

This was the bidding at my table:

WEST	NORTH	EAST	SOUTH
		Markus	
4S	NB	4NT(1)	5H
6S	7H	Dble(2)	NB
NB	NB		

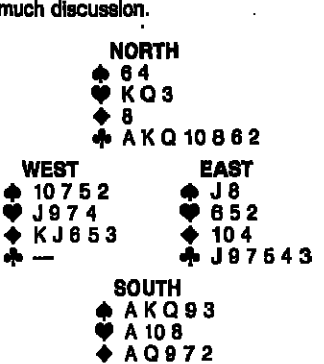
(1) Hoping that a display of strength would deter the opponents from entering the auction.

(2) Showing at least one defensive trick.

Fortunately, my partner led the jack of clubs against 7H doubled, and we eventually made a diamond trick to defeat the contract by one. As you will see, an opening spade lead would have permitted South to make 7H: he could ruff the lead in dummy, throwing a diamond from the closed hand, and subsequently discard his remaining diamond loser on dummy's fifth club to land all thirteen tricks.

Not surprisingly, there was a tremendous variety of results on this board; +200 was the best could do on the East-West cards.

The following board also provoked much discussion.



NORTH
♠ 6 4
♥ K Q 3
♦ 8
♣ A K Q 10 8 6 2

WEST
♠ 10 7 5 2
♥ J 9 7 4
♦ K J 6 5 3
♣ —

EAST
♠ J 8
♥ 6 5 2
♦ 10 4
♣ J 9 7 5 4 3

SOUTH
♠ A K Q 9 3
♥ A 10 8
♦ A Q 9 7 2
♣ —

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Markus		Ballan	
2S(1)	NB	4C	NB
4D	NB	4S(2)	NB
6S	NB	NB	NB

(1) I have always found that Acol Twos work just as well on powerful two-suited hands as they do on one-suiters.

(2) My partner became cautious once I had shown a spade-diamond two-suiter, and he decided not to rely on his club suit producing more than three tricks.

I had quite a shock when I saw dummy, for I realised that 7NT would be an easy make if the clubs broke 3-3 or the jack of clubs fell in two rounds. I won the opening heart lead in dummy and immediately ruffed a club in the closed hand. To my amazement, West over-ruffed and returned another heart. I won in my hand, cashed the ace of diamonds and ruffed a diamond in dummy. I then drew trumps and crossed back to dummy with king of hearts to cash the three top clubs. Four spade tricks, three hearts, one diamond, three clubs and a diamond ruff gave me twelve tricks and +1,430.

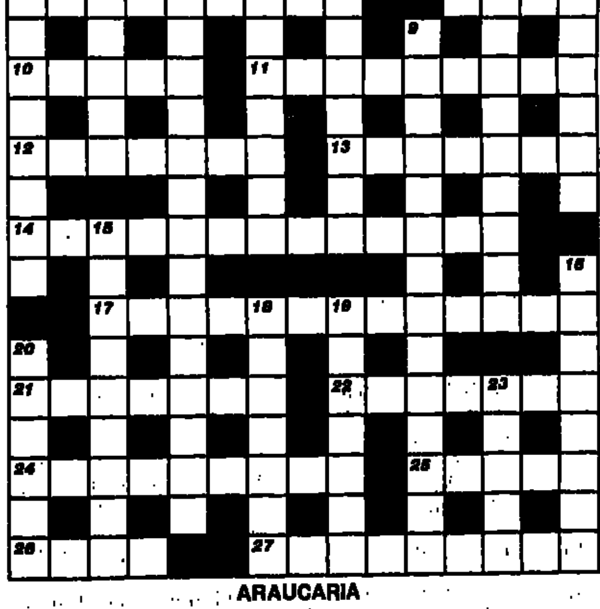
When we opened the travelling score sheet, we found that we had the only plus score on the North-South cards. The 6-0 club break had defeated those pairs who were playing in 6C or 7C, and any pair playing in no-trumps had found that 11 tricks were the limit.

One of the most enjoyable bridge weeks is the annual event in Venice, which this year begins on September 27 with a two-day pairs event. From September 29 to October 2 there is a team event, and on October 3 a two session, one day, mixed event; further details from: Dino Marzza, Italian Bridge Federation, Via Orti 3, 20122 Milan, Italy.

A COUNTRY DIARY

DERBYSHIRE: When I first know the valley of the upper Goyt, the road through it was scarcely fit for motor vehicles and one could often walk the whole length of it without meeting anyone. Since then it has become a popular beauty-spot with car parks and notice-boards, picnic-tables and lavatories. However, the avian specialities of the valley — dipper, ring ousel and pied flycatcher — are still there, although it is many years since I have seen black grouse. From May to September, the finest part of the valley is now closed to motor traffic, so that one can now walk on the road through air scented with bracken, pine-trees and sheep instead of petrol fumes. When we were there a few days ago, the woods were almost silent and the only bird sounds were the pink-pink calls of chaffinches and the whistling of a nuthatch as it ran up a tall dead tree. A bird upon the summit of a rowan on the cliff-top was colourless against the sky and may have been a ring ousel but was just as likely to have been a blackbird. Almost the only roadside flowers were those of numerous spear thistles and almost every bloom bore small yellow and black bumble-bees, sometimes up to four on one flower. The "new" reservoir was crowded with yachts, almost becalmed through lack of wind, but it contained so little water that many yards of ugly banking were exposed, so that it was somewhat of a blot on a beautiful landscape, and the only waterfowl to be seen upon it were a pair of great crested grebes and a gaggle of Canada geese. We lunched at one of the picnic-tables and while all the other occupied tables were besieged by sheep, greedy for titbits, our Lakeland terrier kept them away from ours, although she took no notice of them.

L. P. Samuels



ARAUCARIA

ACROSS

1. Eulogy on Grey, destroyed in terror (9).
6. A bit of froth about piano or tuber (4).
10. Strict clothing for the instincts (5).
11. Uninteresting oxymoron from French revolutionary availed (4-5).
12. Island of old for doctors first (7).
13. Bureau goes top to bottom with drink around Langholm (7).
14. Nothing to do with it as a result (13).
17. Quantity of mock turtle soup for town and hyper-town (3-10).
21. Authority's abuse of freedom (7).
22. College sounds half drunk (7).
24. An indicator in shifting base at the end of the golden road (9).
25. Film elephant returning died with a bad name (5).
26. Try at international match (4).
27. Result of ten years of New Church English? (9).

DOWN

1. Endless fibre from palm in vessel for fuel (8).
2. The Blackwater? (5).
3. Olympia, USA? (4, 3, 7).
4. Go out from the centre at speed without help turning up (7).
5. Animal et liquide en maison grande (7).
7. Seeker for prize sounds desirous of confidentiality (9).
8. Fuel doesn't last for the Spanish (6).
9. Ambulants providing a sort of stick for a twisted journalist (7, 7).
15. Pet with a crest's found a burial place (9).
16. Tibia's good in 4 (4-4).
18. Time would shortly follow some printing in green (7).
19. Itinerant maniac in number 99 (7).
20. Cabin on a 7 near a junction? (6).
23. The answer may be bitter (5).

N	A	R	R	O	W			C	L	A	T	T	E	R
O		O		V		T		O		D		E		O
M	A	G	N	E	T	I	S	M		A	G	E	N	T
A		U		R		N		P		G		N		T
D	W	E	L	L		S	T	A	G	E	N	A	M	E
I				A		E		S				G		N
C	I	T	A	D	E	L		S	O	D	D	E	N	
	I		E							I		R		
	S	P	I	N	E	T		M	O	R	I	S	C	O
S		S				R		O		T				B
O	S	T	E	O	P	A	T	H		C	H	E	S	S
A		A		P		I		A		H		A		E
R	I	F	L	E		T	R	I	M	E	S	T	E	R
E		F		R		O		R		A		E		V
D	E	S	P	A	I	R			S	P	A	R	S	E